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THE FLATHEAD GROUP

I. HISTORICAL AND GEOGRAPHICAL

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TRIBES OF THE GROUP.—The Flathead group consists of four tribes, and there were two others which are now extinct.

1. Flathead (or Têtes plattes).
2. Pend d'Oreilles.
3. Kalispel.
4. Spokan.
5. Sumtē'use } Extinct.
6. Tunā'xe }

ORIGIN OF TRIBAL NAMES.—The Flathead were also called Salish, Selish, Salees, etc., which terms are derived from their own name. The origin of the name "Flathead" ("Tête platte") is obscure. Some men of the tribe claim that the term was adopted by the early traders from the sign language, the sign for the tribe being often interpreted "pressed side of head" or "pressed head," hence "flat head." The Upper Kutenai claim that the tribe was named "Flat-head" because there once was a people who lived in the Salish country who had "flat" or pressed heads. They say that long ago there were two tribes or people inhabiting the Flathead country. One of these was called "Leg people," and the other "Flat-Head (or Wide-Head) people." The former were the ancestors of the Flathead tribe of to-day. They did not press their heads. The other tribe had heads which looked wide, and it was said that they pressed their heads. The exact location of the two tribes is not known; but it is thought that the Leg people lived farthest east and south, and the Wide-Head people about where the Flathead tribes now live—around Jocko and Bitterroot Valley, west of the main range of the Rocky Mountains. It seems that the Leg people were originally entirely or partly east of the range. In later times the two tribes lived together. The Wide-Head tribe was smaller than the Leg tribe. Finally the former disappeared. Possibly they ceased pressing their heads so that they could no longer be distinguished, or they may have been absorbed by the Leg people. At all events, it seems that none but the Leg people remained in the country where the Wide Head had been, but their name has persisted. Distant Plains tribes had been in the habit of calling all the people of the region "Flat Head" or "Wide Head" in a general way, because of the characteristics of the one tribe, and the name was adopted by the fur traders. The Wide Head tribe were not slaves of the Leg people (or Salish proper).

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In the Handbook of American Indians [1] the statement is made that the Flathead tribe received its name from the surrounding people,

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[1] Bull. 30, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pt. 2, under Salish, p. 413; see also ibid., pt. 1, p. 465, under Flathead.

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000 not because they artificially deformed their heads, but because, in contradistinction to most tribes farther west, they left them in their natural condition, flat on top. The Flathead were sometimes called "Flathead proper," in contradistinction to the Pend d'Oreilles (who were sometimes called "Lake Flathead" because many of them formerly had their headquarters around Flathead Lake) and the Kalispel (who were sometimes known as "River Flathead" because they lived on the river below). The Pend d'Oreilles were also called "Earring people," "Ear-Drops," and "Hanging Ears." The name was given to them by the early traders because when first met they nearly all wore large shell earrings. The shells were obtained in Flathead Lake and Pend d'Oreille River, and formed an article of export. The tribe was also known as "Upper Pend d'Oreilles" in contradistinction to the Kalispel, who were sometimes called "Lower Pend d'Oreilles." "Kalispel" is derived from the Indian name of the tribe, which has originated from a place name. The Kalispel were sometimes called "Camas people." "Spokan" is derived from an Indian term for the tribe as a whole, which became general in later days. The Spokan were also sometimes called "Sun people," possibly from a mistranslation of the name "Spokan." Many Indians deny that it has this meaning.

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NAMES FOR THEMSELVES.—The Flathead group as a whole is called "*Ssē'lictcxn*" by the Kalispel and probably the other tribes of the group. This is the same term as "*Nsī'lixtcxn*," used by the Okanagon group for themselves, and means "Salish-speaking." Their own tribal names are—

1. *Sēlic* or *Se'lic* (meaning uncertain;[2] the suffix *-ic* may mean "people").	The Flathead.
2. *Stlqetkomstcī'(nt)* ("people of *Slqe'tko*, "wide water or lake," the name of Flathead Lake). *Stxkā'lixtcī'(nt)* ("upper people" or "people above or at the top," with reference to their position at the head of Pend d'Oreille River or above the Kalispel. This term seems to be chiefly used by the Kalispel).	The Pend d'Oreilles.
3. *Ka'lispe'l* or *Skalispē'* (said to mean "camas"). A Pend d'Oreilles informant said *Kalispē'lxm* was the name for young sprouting camas, and it was also the name of the large camas digging ground near Calispel Lake, Washington, which seems to have been the main seat of the Lower Kalispel.	The Kalispel.

[2] The Handbook of American Indians (pt. 2, p. 418) gives "Salish" as derived from *sēlet* ("people"). If, however, the suffix *-ic* means "people," as seems probable, the term would mean "people people," which makes the derivation unlikely.

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4. *Spôqĕ'in(ic)* (meaning uncertain, but considered to be derived from a place-name).[5] The Spokan appear to have had no name for themselves as a whole, the present tribal name of *Spôqĕ'n* being probably less than a hundred years old. It appears to have originated with the Coeur d'Alêne or some other neighboring Salish tribe, at first as a name for a band that occupied an important fishing place. I was unable to determine the exact band and place. Some Indians say that this band lived on the Little Spokane, while others think *Spôqĕ'in* was originally the name of a band and place near Spokane Falls. The suffix *-qein* has reference to "head." Before the tribal name of "Spokan" came into use it seems that the tribe was known by what are considered now as divisional names only (cf. p. 298). — The Spokan.

5. *Sxmiĕ'use* (meaning uncertain; some Indians declare that the name means "foolish" with reference to the characteristics of the people, while others think the name may be derived from an old place-name). — The *Sxmiĕ'use*.

6. *Tuna'ȩ* (also called "Sun River people") (meaning uncertain; some people think that the name may be from a characteristic of the people because they were great traders, while others think it is merely that of their country or place).[6] — The *Tuna'ȩs*.

NAMES BY WHICH KNOWN TO OTHER TRIBES; NAMES GIVEN TO THEM BY SALISH TRIBES.—All the interior Salish tribes call the Flathead *Sa'liz* or *Sa'lic*. Variations of the name are *Sĕ'liz*, *Sa'lis*, *Sa'lxz*, *Sĕ'lic*, *Se'lic*, and *Si'liz*. The Coeur d'Alêne often call them *Se'dlxmic*, and the Columbia and Wenatchi frequently call them *Sa'lxmuz*, which are variations of the same name.[1] The name may possibly be derived from some old place name.[4] The Pend d'Oreilles were called *Stlkatkomstci'nt* by the Coeur d'Alêne and most other Salish tribes. Variations of the name are *Stqa'tkomstci'nt*, *Stqatkomstci'nt*, and *Stlqatkomstci'nt*. Some tribes more generally called them *Snia'lxmxn* or *Snia'lxmxnic* or *Snia'lxmxnxz*, "people of *Snia'lxmxn*," the name of a place at the Mission where a leading band had their village. In later times this place was the main winter quarters of the tribe.

The Kalispel are called *Skalispĕ'lxm* or *Skalispĕ'l* by all the other Salish tribes. Variations of these terms are *Kalspĕ'lxm*, *Kalispa'lxm*, *Skalxspi'lxz*. The name is derived from *Kalispĕ'lxm*, the name of

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[5] Compare p. 296.

[6] Possibly this is the Kutenai name for Kutenai: Ktuna'xa, which may mean "those going out of the mountains." (F. Boas.) The Salish pronunciation of this name is *Tuna'x* while the Kutenai pronounced *Tuna'xa*. See also the Salish name for the Assiniboin, p. 303, and note to same.

[1] The suffixes *-ic*, *-ic*, *-is*, *-xz*, *-sc*, *-ut*, *-l*, *-t*, *-xmx*, *-xmxn*, *-xmic*, *-xmuz*, *-ut*, mean "people"; *-ulĕ'ut*, *-ulut*, *-lci* means "mouth, language."

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101 619 a great camas-digging place at Calispel Lake, Washington. Some, however, think the term implies "camas people"; while, on the other hand, some Okanagon, Thompson, and others translate it as "flat-country people."

The Spokan or *Spōqē'inic* are called *Spokei'.nɛms* or *Spōqē'ɛnɛmc* by the Coeur d'Alêne, *Spōkei'muɛ* by the Columbia, *Spoqai'nɛɣ* by the Sanpoil, *Spōqe'inɛɣ* and *Spōkē'n* by the Lake and most other Salish tribes, all of which terms mean "*Spōkē'n* or *Spōqē'in* people." As stated already, some people translate the name as meaning "Sun people." They were also, as a whole, sometimes called *Sɛnɛɛamī'-nɛɣɛ* by tribes of the Okanagon group, the name of their principal division. It seems that at one time the tribe had no general name of their own, and they were usually called by the names of what later came to be considered divisions of the tribe. These divisions were looked upon as independent groups or tribes by some. Other Indians considered them merely divisions, saying that they were parts of a single people who had their villages at different places. The names of these divisions of tribes were—

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1. *Stsēkastsi'*, *Stkastsi'lɛn*, or *Stkastsi'lɛnic* (= the Lower Spokan). The name is derived from a place called *Stkastsi'lɛn*, near the mouth of Spokane River. Some translate the name as "running fast," probably with reference to the river. Another, less-accepted translation of the name is "bad food,"[1] "bad eaters," or "poor feeders" (according to some, with reference to the people; according to others, derived from a place-name).

2. *Sntutuū'li* or *Sntutu'ū'*. (= the South or Middle Spokan). This name is translated "living together" by some, and "pounding" or "pounders" (of meat or fish) by others. Most people think the term is derived from a place name derived from the sound of pounding.

3. *Snɣo'mē'*, *Sɛnɣomē'*, *Sɛnɣomē'nic* (= the Upper or Little Spokan). This name is almost invariably translated as "salmon-trout" or "salmon-trout people" (from *ɣomē'na*, "salmon-trout" or "steelhead," a fish said to have been very plentiful in the country of the tribe, and hence the tribal name). Some think the term may originally have been the name of a locality in their country where these fish were abundant. Another translation of the name is "using red paint,"[2] but this is probably incorrect.

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NAMES GIVEN TO THEM BY NON-SALISH TRIBES.—Following is a list of names given by alien tribes to the Flathead group. The names followed by an asterisk are from the Handbook of American Indians.

[1] Compare Bull. 30, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pt. 2, under "Spokan," where the Okanagon name for the Lower Spokan, *ulax sɛstsi'tlini*, is translated "people with bad heads."

[2] Compare Bull. 30, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pt. 2, under "Spokan," where the name *Shu-hu* is translated "people wearing red paint on their cheeks."

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	Flathead	Pend d'Oreilles	Kalispel	Spokan
	A'ltnaqlī'lqm[1] ("Flatheaded".)	*Maqtwī'qtnaxā* ("Red willow people").	*e-tlnamlī'krwa* ("river people")	*Sxuyoma'n.*[2] *Sxnaiuī.*[3]
Upper Kutenai	*Ahkakxna'kxa, Mkxnīi'e* ("Leg or leggy people").	*e-tl'nuqlīlī'm*[4]	*e-tl'nuqlīlī'm*[4] ("compress side of head.")	
Nez Percés		*nsnic'ixm.nx'ti'Mkxa.*	*kamī'spalo* ("camas people").	
Yakima, Paloos, and Klickitat		*lu'thpīlu*[5], *pepah-pān'lēma*[6] ("people of the great fir-trees").[7]	*lu'thpīlu*[5], *pepah-pān'lēma*[6] ("people of the great fir-trees").	*Cpkkt'n.*[7] *Cpoka'n.*
Wasco				*LēcLē'cuks.*[8]
Klamath and Modoc				*Spuūī'n.*[7]
Shoshoni				
Blackfoot	*Kah-ta'h-spi-ta'p-i-o*[9]		*ni-ka-ta-ta-ta'p-i-o*[9]	
Gros Ventres	*Kaahaddain*[10] ("Flathead man").			
Arapaho	*Ka-ka-i-th*[9] ("Flathead people").			
Cheyenne	*Ka-ka'-ta-tsi-a-ta-ni-o*[9] ("people who flatten their heads").			
Chippewa	*Nebaqindibe*[9] ("flathead")			
Crow	*Azuhe'pe, Ā'cuhāpe* (said to mean "Flatheads").	*ah-mī'n-a-ah u'-ma*[9], *ah-min-a-shu-ma*[9] ("the tribe that uses canoes").		
Hidatsa	*d-ta-hd-pa*[9]			
Yankton	*panda-sha*[9], *pan-hda'-ca*[9] ("head cornered or edged").			

[1] The Handbook of American Indians gives a form of this name as a Kutenai term for the Kalispel and Pend d'Oreilles.
[2] From the Salish name for the Little Spokan.
[3] From the Salish name for the Middle Spokan.
[4] Probably *e'tn'q'nuk*, lake.—*F. B.*
[5] The same as the Kutenai name for Flathead.
[6] From the name of a headquarters of the Pend d'Oreilles (see pp. 297, 312).
[7] From Salish tongues.
[8] Compare Nez Percé name for the Columbia.
[9] A tribe east of the Columbia, above the Wallawalla, possibly the Spokan.
[10] See Kroeber, Ethnology of the Gros Ventres, Anthrop. Papers, Am. Mus. Nat. Hist., Vol. 1, p. 147.

In the sign language the Flathead were called "flat head" or "pressed side of the head." The Pend d'Oreilles and Kalispel were called "Paddlers" because they used bark canoes extensively, while the Spokan are said to have had very few canoes; and the Flathead, *Sxmīl'use*, and *Tund'ze* had no canoes. The Pend d'Oreilles and Kalispel were differentiated by making the additional signs of "above" or "lake" for the former, and "below" or "river" for the latter; i. e. "lake paddlers" and "river paddlers," etc. The Pend d'Oreilles were also called "real paddlers" or simply "paddlers;" and the Kalispel, "camas-eaters," "camas people," or "camas-diggers." It seems

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that the last terms were applied to them almost exclusively by the Nez Percé and some other Shahaptian tribes. The Spokan were called "salmon-eaters" because they were the only tribe of the Flathead group who had salmon in their country, and naturally therefore, salmon was consumed a great deal by them.

NAMES GIVEN BY THEM TO OTHER TRIBES.—Following are names given to other tribes by the Flathead:

SALISH TRIBES

Lower Fraser tribe	*Tɜmsiū'*, *Lamsiū'* (meaning uncertain).
Lillooet	*Snɜzlamī'ne* ("ax people").
Shuswap	*Sihwē'pe*, *Sihwe'pi* (meaning uncertain, thought to mean "people at the root or bottom," supposed with reference to a low valley).
Thompson or Couteau	*Nukɜtɜme'xᵘ*, *Nko'tɜme'xᵘ*, *Nkɜtɜmī'*, *Lū'kɜtɜme'* (meaning uncertain, thought to be from the name of their country; some think it may mean "other-side country" or "people of the other slope").
Similkameen	*Sɜmilkami'* (from the name of their country).
Okanagon	*Otcɜnākē'*, *Otcɜnāqai'n*, *Otcɜnākai'n* (from the name of a place on Okanagon River).
Sanpoil	*Npoī'lce*, *Snpōī'lɜɜc* (meaning uncertain, said to be from the name of a place or district).
Colville or Chaudiere	*Sɜōɜēlpi*, *Sɜoiē'lpi* (said to be derived from *sɜoiē'*, "stone grainer for dressing hides").
Lake or Sinijextee	*Snai'tcɜtste* or *Snrai'tcɜtste* ("lake-trout people").
Wenatchi	*Snpɜskwā'use*, or *Snpɜskwē'usi* (from the name of a place).
Columbia	*Snkaiā'use*, *Snkaiē'use*[9] (related to the term "Cayuse").
Coeur d'Alêne	*Stci'tsui* (meaning uncertain).

WESTERN PLATEAU TRIBES

In general	*Sutomktske'liz*[10] ("down-country people," thought to be from the name of a place in their country).

OTHER PLATEAU TRIBES

Upper Kutenai	*Ska'lsi'*, *Skalse'* (from *Skalse'ulkᵘ*, Kootenai River).[11] *Qaga'ten* by the *Tunā'xe*.
Lower Kutenai or Flatbow	*Selkola'*, *Sɜlkwōla'*. (meaning uncertain).
Nez Percé	*Sēha'pten*, *Sahā'ptɜne* (meaning uncertain, thought to be from the name of their country).

[9] Compare the terms for Umatilla and Cayuse.

[10] A general name for the tribes west of the Bitterroot Range, and particularly the Salishan and Shahaptian tribes of the Columbia drainage. The tribes of the Okanagon and Columbia groups, the Coeur d'Alêne, Nez Percé, and other Shahaptian tribes, were particularly *Sutomktske'liz*.

[11] The name of the river seems to be derived from *skalt* ("above, up country or to the north") and *ss'ulkᵘ* ("water or river"). See also Okanagon, p. 202, note 6.

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Wallawalla	*Sulaus'*, *Suwalus'le* (meaning uncertain, thought to be from the name of a place).
Umatilla	*Kil'us*,[32] *Nkeil'use*, *Okêmc*[33] (meaning uncertain).
Palous	*Sizhemici'ni*, *Sitkemici'ne* ("people of the confluence" with reference to the mouth of the Snake).
Yakima	*Is'qime*, *Is'kume* (meaning uncertain).
Cayuse	*Keil'us*[34] (meaning uncertain, thought by some to be from the name of a place or district).
Wasco	*Watsgo'ge* (thought to be from the name of a place).
Wasco and Dalles tribes	*Skuhaltu'* ("above the falls").
Bannock[35]	*Ixux'stes*, *Sôxwoi'tse*, *oxhoi'tse*, *penak*[36] (said to mean "bark covering" or "bark lodges" because the tribe formerly used lodges of bark or of bark and grass; some translate the name "striped robes," and others "striped covering," either covering of lodges or covering of the body [robes, for instance]; some Coeur d'Alêne claim that "Bark Lodges" is the old name of the tribe, and "Striped Robes" a later name [37]).
Tribe unidentified, said to be similar to the Bannock; others say a tribe formerly living east of and near the Rocky Mountains.	*pi'liakn* (meaning uncertain, supposed to have some connection with "head").
Shoshoni or Snake (in general)	*Snô'us*, *Snô'us'* ("snake").
Lemhi Shoshoni (a general name)	*Tcatxwoi'stxn Snô'us* (said to mean "mountain snake").
Shoshoni east and south of Lemhi [38]	*Ons'x[w] sno'us* ("real snake").[39]
General name for tribes to the south of the Flathead group, particularly the Shoshonean tribes of the Rocky Mountains, and east of the Rockies, and others beyond to the south, in contradistinction to the tribes of the Columbia drainage or west of the Bitterroots ("down-country people") and the eastern or Plains tribes ("cutthroat" or "sunrise" people).	*Tsesetokuin* a *Tho'lis* ("noon people" or "south people").

[32] Compare Columbia and Cayuse.
[33] Compare the Coeur d'Alêne name for the Nez Percé.
[34] Compare names for Umatilla and Columbia.
[35] Called by the Columbia *qoi'ise*.
[36] Probably a modern name.
[37] In the sign language it seems that they were called by both names.
[38] The Columbia call the Shoshoni of the Mountains *Snaix'aitsq*; those east of the mountains *Sn?'s*.
[39] The Ute and several Shoshonean tribes to the south and east are said to have had special names. Nowadays at least the Ute are often called Yû'ta, and the Comanche Kamâ'ntsi.

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EASTERN OR PLAINS TRIBES

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General name for eastern tribes or all tribes east of the Salish, Shoshoni, and Blackfoot.	*Tcxle'tstin s'ks'.lix* ("sunrise people" or "eastern people") *Noxtu'*. ("beheaders" or "cutthroats").
Sarsi	*Sarsī'*. This tribe is said to have been unknown long ago, and the name for them was adopted from the Blackfoot or the white traders.
Blackfoot (proper)	*Stcxqwē'*, *Stcxkwē'*. ("black feet").[18]
Blood	*Sxnhwulstci'nt*, *Snxwulstci'nt* ("blood people").
Piegan	*Tsxtsxmi'tsa*[a] ("small robes").
Gros Ventres or Atsina	*Snkaioskestci'nt* (said to mean something like saying "two" or "two [pole] people," probably with reference to tent-poles).[19]
Arapaho	*Lapaho'*, *Ala'pho* (a corruption of Arapaho).
Cheyenne	*Wxtckaiu'*, *xtckai'u'*, *Tskakai'u'*, *Tcxxkai 'u'*, *Tsī'kxkai'u*, *Tskwai'u'* (said to mean "blue [or black] arrows" or "blue arrow people," so named because the feathers of their arrows were striped blue and white, or black and white; according to others because their arrows were painted blue and white).[20]
Cree	*Noxtu'* ("cutthroat" or "beheader"),[21] *Lekrē'* (from the word "Cree" by way of the French).
Sioux	*Noxtu'* ("cutthroat," "beheader").[22]
Assiniboin	*Stkotunuxtu'*[23] (said to mean "go on foot" or "people who go on foot or walk," because they had no horses at a time when all the tribes to the south and west of them were mounted).
Crow	*Stē'mtci'(nt)* ("raven people").
River Crow	*Skwais'tci'*, *Skwoistci'nt* ("blue [or green] people").[24]
Ojibway	*Ntcu'wa'*, *Ntcu'a'*.
Iroquois	*yilikwe'* (a corruption of the word "Iroquois").

The Omaha and some other eastern tribes known in later times had names, but my informants had forgotten them. They were not sure of the name for the Kiowa.

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[18] Some people think that these people were so named because they used black or dark-colored moccasins. People of the Thompson and several tribes sometimes blackened their moccasins in cold weather.

[a] Called by the Columbia *Stormi'tsa*.

[19] In the sign language they were called "tent poles" and "big belly."

[20] In the sign language they were generally designated "arrows striped across," sometimes they were called "cutthroat of the south."

[21] In the sign language sometimes called "cutthroat of the north." A Coeur d'Alêne sign language name for them is "striped noses" or "scratched noses."

[22] In the sign language often called "real cutthroat" or "cutthroat of the east."

[23] Compare form and meaning of this word with *tunē'xe* or *kotunē'xe*, which I think means "people who walk down a valley." However, there may be no connection.

[24] In the sign language called "people who defecate by the riverside."

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DIALECTS.—The Pend d'Oreilles and Kalispel speak the same dialect. A branch of the latter living in the Chewelah district are said to have spoken slightly differently. The difference was owing partly to contact with Colville and Spokan. The Flathead spoke a dialect slightly different from that of the Pend d'Oreilles. The difference is very slight at the present day, but was more pronounced formerly. The *Szmtl'ues* are said to have spoken like the Pend d'Oreilles, but with a difference in intonation and slight differences in the meaning and pronunciation of certain words. Their utterance is said to have been slower than that of the other tribes. The Spokan divisions are said to have spoken all alike, and their speech varied most from the Flathead. However, all these tribes had little or no difficulty in understanding one another, except the *Tuna'ɣe* (Salish-*Tuna'ɣe*). The speech of this tribe is said to have been Salish, but as much removed from the Flathead as the Coeur d'Alêne, or more so.[3]

Flathead and Pend d'Oreilles, it is said, could only partially understand them. Many of them, however, could speak Flathead, especially those living farthest south; while those living farthest north, next the Kutenai-*Tuna'ɣe*, were practically bilingual, speaking both their own language and Kutenai about equally well. It is said that many Salish-*Tuna'ɣe* also spoke Blackfoot and Shoshoni as well as Flathead and Kutenai.

HABITAT AND BOUNDARIES.[4] *Flathead Tribe.*—It seems that two Salish tribes lived entirely east of the Continental Divide; the Flathead and the Salish-*Tuna'ɣe*. According to Flathead and Pend d'Oreille informants, long ago the Flathead tribe lived wholly east of the Rocky Mountains, where they occupied a large tract of country. They were in several large detached bands, who made their headquarters in certain places in the western part of their country, near the mountains, where conditions were best for wintering. Occasionally parties went west of the divide, into what are now the counties of Ravalli and Granite in Montana, but they never crossed the Bitterroot Range. Parties also went a considerable distance east in the summertime, some of them ranging around Bozeman and farther to the north. According to some informants, the former boundaries of the Flathead tribe were the Rocky Mountains on the west and south, and the Gallatin, Crazy Mountain, and Little Belt Ranges on the

[3] According to the Flathead, the last person known to have spoken *Tuna'ɣe* died in 1870. This was a man of Salish *Tuna'ɣe* descent, who lived among the Kutenai in the Flathead Agency. Mr. Myers, who carried on linguistic work with Mr. E. S. Curtis, told me in 1910 that when in Montana he collected about 30 words (all remembered of the *Tuna'ɣe* language) from an old Kutenai woman, and that these words show distinct relationship to the Salish languages. See also list of *Tuna'ɣe* words (given in vocabularies) preserved in Flathead and Pend d'Oreille personal names. All these appear to be Salish. Also see list of *Tunā'ɣe* (Kutenai-*Tuna'ɣe*) words collected by me at Tobacco Plains, British Columbia. All these appear to be related to Kutenai. The first are with little doubt Salish-*Tuna'ɣe* words, and the latter Kutenai *Tuna'ɣe*.

[4] See footnote 39 on p. 308. Compare map in Forty-first Ann. Rept. Bur. Amer. Ethn.

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000 east. Their approximate northern boundary seems to have cut across the Big Belt Range near its center, following some hilly country north of Helena, between the Rocky Mountains and Little Belt Mountains. The territory claimed by the tribe included practically all of the present counties of Deerlodge, Silver Bow, Beaverhead, Madison, Gallatin, Jefferson, and Broadwater, and parts of Park, Meagher, and Lewis and Clark. This is the country said to have been occupied by the tribe about 1600 (?), when they obtained the first horses. The extreme eastern and southern parts of the territory may have been to some extent neutral ground, and the district east of the Big Belt and Bridger Ranges was possibly not very fully utilized before the introduction of the horse. About the time of the introduction of the horse the Flathead had for neighbors the Pend d'Oreilles, *Sxmtē'use*, and Salish-*Tuna'xe* on the northwest and north, and Shoshonean tribes all around them on the southwest, south, and east. About this time the Crow, Gros Ventres, Arapaho, and Cheyenne were unknown, for they were not in contact with Salish tribes, and originally they lived far to the east. The Sarsi, Cree, and Assiniboin were also unknown. The only tribes on the Western Plains at this time, other than Salish, were Shoshoni, Kutenai,[26] and Blackfoot, all of which were well known. The Blackfoot people were then in three (some say four) divisions, as they are now,[27] all speaking the same language. There were two groups of Shoshoni—those who lived in and west of the Rockies and those who lived east of the Rockies, on the plains. Both of these divisions consisted of several tribes, some of them speaking dialects considerably different from others. Most of them, however, spoke the "real Snake" language. Various Shoshonean bands or tribes occupied the Lemhi country, and the whole area south of the Nez Percé. These western or mountain Shoshoni subsisted to a considerable extent on salmon, like the Nez Percé, Spokan, and western Salish tribes. East of the Rockies, Shoshonean tribes occupied the Upper Yellowstone country, including the National Park, and they are said to have extended east to the Big Horn Mountains or beyond. To the south, both east and west of the Rockies, the Flathead knew of no tribes that were not branches of the "Snake." Most of these people depended chiefly on hunting buffalo, elk, and mountain sheep. Farther north Shoshonean bands occupied the country around Livingston, Lewiston, and Denton. How far east and down the Yellowstone they extended is not known; but they are thought to have at one time held the country around Billings, and most, if not all, of the country where the Crow Indians now have a reservation. Some think they even stretched east almost to the present Northern Cheyenne Reserve. None of the former Shoshoni boundaries were properly known to the Flathead, however, except

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[26] Kutenai-*Tunā'xe*.

[27] Blackfoot proper, Blood, and Piegan.

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where they were their own neighbors or those of the *Tunā'xe*. A large Shoshoni band lived at one time near Fort Benton and another one is said to have lived still farther north. The Sweet Grass Hills, near the Canadian line, were considered to be the former northwestern boundary of the Shoshoni. These hills were also the boundary of the Kutenai, and possibly also of the Blackfoot.[28] Northeastward Shoshoni are thought to have occupied the country to near Fort Assiniboin or Havre. How far they extended down the Missouri is unknown, but they are said to have occupied the region to a considerable distance down on the south side. Although tribes or people were known to live east of the Shoshoni, it seems that long ago there was little contact between them.[29] At this period the western or mountain Shoshoni seldom crossed the Rockies, with the exception of small parties, bent on trading and visiting the Shoshoni in the Yellowstone country, and the Flathead. The Nez Percé and Coeur d'Alêne never crossed the Rockies, and seldom the Bitterroot Range. However, small parties visited the southern Pend d'Oreilles, where they were occasionally met by Flathead, who also visited there. Parties of Flathead also visited the mountain Snake, especially the Lemhi, and they also visited Shoshoni bands on the Yellowstone.

After the mountain Shoshoni had obtained horses they began to go east of the Rockies regularly in large numbers for buffalo hunting, sometimes joining forces with other Shoshonean bands who lived east of the range and sometimes hunting by themselves. Many of these parties skirted the mountains on the western side and then crossed into the Yellowstone Park, whence they went east or north. Others crossed the Rockies by passes farther north, and skirting the eastern foothills to the Gallatin Range went north on both sides of it to Livingston and beyond. Some of them went to the Musselshell River, and occasionally as far as Lewiston and Fort Benton; but it seems they did not cross the Missouri. This whole territory belonged to Shoshonean tribes. The Bannock also began to cross the mountains, and some parties occasionally wintered on the east side. Many of them crossed to the north and passed east through the southern and eastern borders of the Flathead country by the Gallatin River and Bozeman. In later days some of them went by Beaver Head River and Dillon. The Bannock generally hunted by themselves, and usually did not go as far east and north as some of the mountain Shoshoni. At a later date the Nez Percé and Coeur d'Alêne also began to hunt buffaloes east of the Rockies. The Coeur d'Alêne

[28] Some say at a later date the Gros Ventres also reached there.

[29] The disposition of tribes as above stated appears to agree with information obtained from the Blackfoot. (c, p. 17). Wissler says, "The Piegan claim that before the white man dominated their country [an uncertain date, probably 1730-1840] the Blackfoot, Blood and Piegan lived north of Macleod; the Kutenai in the vicinity of the present Blood Reserve; the Gros Ventres and the Assiniboin to the east of the Kootenai; the Snake on the Teton River, and as far north as Two Medicine River; and the Flathead on the Sun River."

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224 probably started at an earlier date than the Nez Percé. Both tribes
484 passed through Pend d'Oreilles and Flathead territories, and went first at the invitation of the Flathead. Before the days of horses the tribes did not hunt so far away from home. They seldom hunted beyond the borders of their respective territories, except in the case of small parties engaged in intertribal visits. In those days peace
[726] generally prevailed among the various tribes and there was no continual warfare like that which developed after the introduction of the horse and the migrations of eastern tribes westward and of Blackfoot tribes southward.

000 *The Tunā'ẓe (or Salish-Tunā'ẓe).*—The country of the *Tunā'ẓe* was also altogether east of the Continental Divide and immediately north of the Flathead. They extended westward to the Rocky Mountains. Their southern limits are rather vague and there may have been no very clear dividing line between them and the nearest bands of Flathead. The dividing line seems to have been somewhere between Marysville and Helena. Their eastern boundary seems to have been along the Big Belt Range, north to Great Falls. Beyond this point it swerved northwestward, apparently excluding the Teton River, or at least its lower part, to a point somewhere near Conrad, whence it struck westerly to the Rockies. It did not extend as far north as the present Blackfoot and Piegan Reservation in Montana. Their territory embraced parts of what are now the counties of Teton, Lewis and Clark, and Cascade. Immediately north of the *Tunā'ẓe* lived the Kutenai, according to the Flathead, or the tribe called *Tonā'ẓa* or *Kutonā'ẓa* by the Upper Kutenai. The *Tunā'ẓe* of the Flathead were considered Salish by the Kutenai, who often called them "Sun River people" or simply referred to them as "Flathead." The Blackfoot also considered them Salish.[30] It seems strange that the Flathead should call a Salish tribe by the same name as the Kutenai give to a Kutenai tribe, and there may possibly be some confusion among Flathead informants respecting the tribal names.

The Upper Kutenai say there were three tribes of Kutenai people, each speaking slightly different dialects of the Kutenai language—(1) the Lower Kutenai, on Kootenai Lake, and the Kootenai River above the lake; (2) the Upper Kutenai on Upper Kootenai River, north to the head of the Columbia, and extending into the Rockies; (3) the *Kutona'ẓa*, *Tonā'ẓa*, or *Tuna'ẓa*, east of the Rocky Mountains. The last-named at one time occupied a considerable territory in what are now Alberta and Montana, extending east to the Sweet Grass Hills, and including at least the greater portion of the present

[30] See note 29. The names *Tuna'ẓe* and *Tona'ẓa* are undoubtedly forms of the name by which the Kutenai designate themselves *Ktun'ẓa*. The derivation may be k-participle; *tun-* (Lower Kutenai) out of the woods; *aẓ(l)* to go. According to the present form of the language "those who go out of the woods" would be *Ktuna'ẓam*.—F. Boas.

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Blood Reserve in Alberta and all of the Blackfoot Reservation in Montana. Northward Kutenai territory extended on the east side of the Rockies to a distance about equal to the northern limits of the former hunting grounds of the Upper Kutenai, west of the range or possibly even a little farther north; but it is not clear whether this northeastern strip of country belonged to the Upper Kutenai or to the Kutenai-*Tunā'xa*. Presumably it belonged to the former. It included the country around Banff and probably all the present reservation of the Stony or Assiniboin Indians on the Bow River.[31] On the south their boundaries coincided with the northern limits of the Sun River Salish (the tribe called *Tunā'xa* by my principal Flathead informant). This eastern or Plains Kutenai tribe was composed of several bands, most of whom made their headquarters in the eastern foothills of the Rockies, on both sides of the international boundary; but a large band lived at one time on the present Blood Reservation. The main seat of the tribe was near the place now called Browning, in Montana. To prevent confusion I have named this tribe Kutenai-*Tunā'xa*, and the *Tunā'xa* of Flathead and Pend d'Oreilles informants, Salish-*Tunā'xa*. The latter had for neighbors Kutenai-*Tunā'xa* on the north, the *Sxmtē'use* on the west, Flathead on the south, and Shoshoni neighbors on the east. It seems that the Kutenai-*Tunā'xa* had Shoshoni on part of their boundary to the southeast, Blackfoot (probably Piegan) on the east and north, Upper Kutenai and Pend d'Oreilles on the west, and Salish-*Tunā'xa* on the south. It is claimed that at this time there were no Sarsi or Assiniboin in that part of the country.[32]

The Sxmtē'use or Sxmtā'use.—The territory of the *Sxmtē'use* lay immediately west of the Rocky Mountains, in what is now Powell County, and in parts of Lewis and Clark, Missoula, and Granite Counties. Their southern boundary seems to have run in a line from Garrison or Deerlodge to Missoula, and their western boundary northeasterly to a point in the Rockies in the neighborhood of the northern end of Powell County, their territory thus forming a wedge to the north. The former ownership of the triangular piece of country forming the southern part of Granite County, with Philipsburg as a center, is uncertain, but it probably belonged to the *Sxmtē'use*. Some claim it to have been occupied by Flathead. In later times it was occupied chiefly by them. The *Sxmtē'use* were

[31] According to tradition, the Stony (or Assiniboin) were not in the Rocky Mountains long ago; they were east of the Kutenai-*Tunā'xa* and Blackfoot. Later some of them appeared in the Bow River region, around Banff and Morley. At a still later date Shuswap also appeared in this region. They were allies of the Stony. It seems that the Assiniboin came in along the eastern slopes of the Rockies from the northeast or north.

[32] The Sarsi, it seems, were not known until comparatively late times. Their home is supposed to have been to the north of the Blackfoot, while the original home of the Assiniboin is considered to have been somewhere to the east of the Blackfoot. The Gros Ventres (or Atsina) were also to the east or southeast of the latter.

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101 thus entirely surrounded by Salish tribes—the Salish-*Tunā'ɣe* on the
131 east, the Flathead on the south, and the Pend d'Oreilles on the west.

The Pend d'Oreilles.—The Pend d'Oreilles occupied all the Flathead Lake and Flathead River country, the Little Bitterroot, the Pend d'Oreille River west to about Plains, the Fork and Missoula Rivers to about Missoula. Northward they extended to about the British Columbia line. The original owners of that part of Flathead River that is in British Columbia is uncertain, as some informants of both the Pend d'Oreilles and Upper Kutenai claim it as hunting territory of their respective tribes. In later days it seems to have been used principally by the Upper Kutenai. The Lewis and Clark National Forest and the Flathead Indian Reserve are both in old Pend d'Oreilles territory. To the south they extended as far as the *Sxmtē'use* (near Missoula). Thus they occupied the greater part of Flathead and Missoula Counties. According to some informants, all of Ravalli County was also claimed by the Pend d'Oreilles, although the Flathead occupied it a long time ago. It seems not unlikely that the Pend d'Oreilles of this part of the country, the *Sxmtē'use* of Granite County, and the nearest Flathead bands were closely related and the boundaries between them not very well defined. Pend d'Oreilles territory narrowed down in the extreme north and south, and was partly bounded by the Rocky Mountains on the east and the Bitterroot Mountains on the west. The tribe had for neighbors the *Sxmtē'use*, Salish-*Tunā'ɣe*, and Kutenai-*Tunā'ɣe* along the east; Upper Kutenai on the north; Kalispel, Coeur d'Alêne, and Nez Percé, along the west; and Shoshoni and Flathead, south. After the extinction of the Salish-*Tunā'ɣe* the Flathead and Pend d'Oreilles, as their nearest relatives, laid claim to their country, and used it as their hunting ground. The Pend d'Oreilles used chiefly the northern part and the Flathead the southern; the approximate dividing line seems to have been across Sun River. Later, after the extinction of the *Sxmtē'use*, the Pend d'Oreilles, claiming to be the tribe most closely related to them, occupied their country for hunting and root digging, including their large camas grounds near Missoula. The latter, however, were also used to some extent by the Flathead.

The Kalispel.—The Kalispel occupied a rather narrow strip of country following Pend d'Oreille River, up to Plains and thence north, taking in Thompson Lake and Norse Plains. They divided the Kutenai from the Coeur d'Alêne. This included most of Sanders County, Montana; the country around Pend d'Oreille Lake and Priests Lake in Idaho; and nearly all of Pend d'Oreille River within the State of Washington. A small corner of their hunting country extended into the Salmon River district in British Columbia. A division speaking a slightly different dialect also occupied the Chewelah district on the confines of the Colville tribe. The Kalispel were thus bounded by

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Lower Kutenai on the north, Colville and Lake on the west, Spokan and Coeur d'Alêne on the south, and the Pend d'Oreilles on the east. 101

The Spokan.—The Spokan occupied that part of eastern Washington immediately south of the Kalispel and west of the Coeur d'Alêne. It seems that the bulk of the tribe was on the Spokane and Little Spokane Rivers. South they claimed the country to Cow Creek, and, according to some, along this creek almost or quite to Palouse River. North their country embraced the present Spokan Reservation, Loon Lake, Deer Park Lake, Peone Prairie, and all the northern feeders of the Spokane. Their western boundary seems to have been approximately a line running about due south from the mouth of Spokane River and passing through Ritzville. The Spokan hardly touched Columbia River at any point. They had for neighbors the Coeur d'Alêne on the east, the Kalispel and Colville on the north, the Sanpoil and Columbia on the west, and the Paloos on the south.[2] 131

PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE COUNTRY.—The country formerly inhabited by the Spokan is arid in the lower valleys, but at higher levels very much of it consists of rolling, grass-covered plateaus and prairies with comparatively little timber. Much of the northern part of the Pend d'Oreilles country and most of the Kalispel country are more or less heavily forested. A great deal of it is hilly or mountainous, but there are also many flat open parts and meadows with luxuriant grass. Altogether the territories of the Flathead group of tribes were exceedingly diversified in natural features, rich in food supplies, and had good climatic conditions. 133 137

DIVISIONS, BANDS, AND HEADQUARTERS. *The Flathead.*—It seems now impossible to get a full list of the bands of the Flathead tribe previous to their change of organization brought about by the introduction of the horse and subsequent prolonged wars with the Blackfoot. It appears that there were at least four distinct bands having their main winter camps in the western parts of the country. Of these, it seems that one was on a river near Helena, one near Butte, another smaller one somewhere east of Butte, and one somewhere in the Big Hole Valley. The Big Hole and Helena bands are said to have been large. There are traditions of two other bands, making probably six in all, but I did not learn the localities in which they had their headquarters. It seems that some of the bands did not always winter in the same locality, while others did. It is said that some parties wintered alternately at widely separate places in the eastern part of the country. The inference is that some were nomadic to a large extent, while others, probably the majority, generally wintered in definite "home" localities. In the fair season it seems that most 000

[2] If the Paloos are newcomers then they may have had the Nez Percé as southern neighbors; but the main settlements of the two tribes were far apart.

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of them, perhaps all, divided into two or more parties, who traveled in different directions from one seasonal ground to another, hunting, root digging, berrying, visiting, and trading. Some of these parties traveled considerable distances on these trips. In the summertime bands of Flathead might be met with in the valleys of the Big Hole, Beaver Head, Madison, and Gallatin Rivers, and in the country north to Helena, as well as at points within the boundaries of their neighbors in the Bitterroot Valley and elsewhere. Parties also frequented the upper portions of Shield Creek and the Musselshell; but this may have been in later days, after the introduction of horses.[34] Changed conditions, wrought by the adoption of the horse, the importance of buffalo hunting, and wars with the Blackfoot appear to have resulted in the breaking up of the old system of geographically localized bands and to have forced the tribe to live together as a unit. In the summer the tribe split into two or three large parties, who came together for the winter in a single large camp or in two camps close together. Sometimes, for protection, the tribe remained united during the whole year. In later times they wintered as far west as possible, according to some, in Pend d'Oreilles territory. *Tlka'lxmxls*[35] ("thick bushes" or "willow bushes"), now known as Stevensville, in the Bitterroot Valley, was for many years their main winter camp. In the schedule of Indian Reserves[36] the Flathead appear to be divided into three bands—the Bitterroot, Carlos band, and the Flathead.

The Salish-Tunâ'ze.—The number and locations of the Salish-*Tunâ'ze* bands are not fully remembered. It seems that there were at least four main divisions. The largest band is said to have had their headquarters at a place called *Sxnsū'kol* (said to mean "ice piled up") on Sun River, near Fort Shaw. This was considered the main seat of the tribe. Another band wintered at *Sxnsū'skul* (said to mean "little ice piled up"), also on Sun River; a third division had their headquarters on Dearborn River; and a fourth generally made their main camp somewhere near Great Falls, but whether on the main Missouri or at the mouth of a tributary stream is not clear. A fifth band is sometimes spoken of as having lived farther north and west, in the foothills of the Rockies, at the heads of some small streams near some little lakes. The people of this band were mixed with Kutenai and it is not quite certain whether they belonged properly to the Salish-*Tunâ'ze* or to the Kutenai-*Tunâ'ze*.

(In a later communication Mr. Teit sent the following information obtained from the Kutenai.) There were two bands with separate chiefs that lived together near Browning, Mont. (on the present

[34] Some people think that very long ago there were scattered bands located more or less permanently at all those places.

[35] Compare *Ka'lxmls* (list of Okanagon villages, p. 208, No. 3).

[36] Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, 1905, p. 466.

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000 Blackfoot or South Piegan Reserve), and this place was considered their headquarters. Here their old camp sites may be found, although now covered with earth. When the earth is dug away the tent circles may be seen, and the fireplaces. According to John Star, numbers of these circles of stones have been unearthed in this vicinity. Chief Paul told me that when a young man he had seen the remains of a great *Tuna'ze* camp in the country south of Macleod in the foothills, the circles of stones for their tipis being traceable for a distance of about 5 miles. The *Kakwagamtū'kmtk!* lived just north of them. They spoke the same dialect as the Upper Kutenai of Tobacco Plains and Fort Steele(?). They are said to have had their headquarters in the heart of the Rockies in the Crow's Nest Pass near Michel, British Columbia, and to have hunted on both sides of the divide. They are reported to have been killed off by an epidemic and the few survivors scattered. A very few of them settled among other bands of Kutenai as far north as Windermere. As the country around Macleod and south some distance is exposed to violent winds, stones would naturally be requisite for placing against the lodge poles to help steady the lodges.

361 619 131 *The Sxmtē'use.*—The *Sxmtē'use* also were in several bands, wintering at different places. Before the introduction of the horse the largest band was on Big Blackfoot River, which was considered the headquarters of the tribe. Some people lived on the Little Blackfoot and Salmon-Trout Rivers, but it is not clear whether they formed separate bands. One or two bands occupied the Missoula River country. It seems that one of these had headquarters near a place called *Skalsa'*[37] or *Eplē'thwa*[38] ("possessing camas"), later known as "Big Camas" or "Camas Prairie," between the Missoula and Big Blackfoot. Some think that a smaller band had headquarters near Deer Lodge and maybe Phillipsburg, but some informants assign this place to the Flathead. Anaconda is reckoned to be in old Flathead territory. In later days the tribe became more concentrated, and their main camp seems to have been near Camas Prairie.

[198] *The Pend d'Oreilles.*—It seems that the earliest recognized main seat of the Pend d'Oreilles was at Flathead Lake. According to some informants, there were four main divisions of the tribe,[39] with headquarters in different parts of the country. Of these, probably the Flathead Lake people were the most important. They appear to have had several winter camps in the vicinity of the lake. Whether each camp or village was considered a separate band is not clear. It appears that some people lived north of the lake, with their main

[37] Said to be the *Sxmtē'use* name. The name may be connected with camas.
[38] Said to be the Flathead name.
[39] Some say that each tribe of the Flathead group was divided into four bands or divisions, but this seems an attempt at more or less conscious systematization.

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361 619 131 camp near Kalispel, and possibly a smaller one near Columbia Falls. Other people lived west of the lake, with headquarters probably at or near Dayton, and there were others near Polson at the foot of the lake. There were also winter camps lower down, near Jocko, Dixon, Ravalli, and at other places. A number of Pend d'Oreilles lived near Camas Prairie and at other places on the Missoula; but this may have been after the extinction of the *Sxmtĕ'use*, as this place was considered to be on the territory of the latter. It seems that Pend d'Oreilles sometimes also wintered on the Bitterroot. A large band wintered at *Snye'lxmxn*[46] or *Snia'lxmxn*, near the present St. Ignatius Mission. Some time after the introduction of the horse this place became the main seat of the tribe, and Flathead Lake lost 361 619 198 its importance. The same conditions which forced the Flathead to concentrate affected the Pend d'Oreilles also, but perhaps to not quite the same extent. It is said that about 1810 to 1830 nearly the whole tribe wintered in a single large camp at St. Ignatius Mission, in the same way as the Flathead did at Stevensville. There are some 619 indications that the Pend d'Oreilles at one time may have been in two divisions, a northern and a southern, each comprising a number of bands.

361 619 131 *The Kalispel.*—The Kalispel, it seems, were at one time in three divisions: (1) The Upper Kalispel, sometimes called *Ntsxmtsi'ni* ("people of the confluence," from *ntsxmtsin*, "entrance, outlet, or confluence," a place at the outlet of Pend Oreille Lake, where a considerable band of them formerly wintered). (2) The Lower Kalispel, often called "the Kalispel" or "real Kalispel," and sometimes "camas people" and "*Kalispe'm*." They are said to have been so called because they occupied the Kalispel country proper, the district around *Kalispe'lxm* or *Kalispe'm*, the name of the large camas prairie west of the Pend Oreille River, near Calispell Lake, Washington. (3) The Chewelah, generally called *Sldilĕ'use*, and sometimes *Tsentĕ's*. In later days they were often called Chewelah by whites and Indians (from *Tcewi'la* or *Tcuwŏ'la*, the name of one of their principal winter camps near Chewelah, Wash.). Some people considered these people a tribe different from the Kalispel, as they spoke a slightly different dialect and lived by themselves. However, they recognized their very close relationship to the Kalispel. I did not succeed in getting a full list of Kalispel bands, but it seems that there were several in each division. There were probably at least two bands of the Chewelah, as some people speak of their having had two winter camps. In fair weather some of them camped near Newport and Fool's Prairie, where they often remained many weeks. They also repaired regularly to Calispell Lake, where they dug camas with the Lower Kalispel. They occupied the country west of

[46] Said to mean "encircled" or "surrounded," some say because of groves of bushes and trees forming a circle, and by others because elk used to be surrounded at this place.

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the Calispell or Chewelah Mountains in the upper part of the Colville Valley. The Lower Kalispel country was also nearly all in the State of Washington, where they occupied the Lower Pend Oreille River from about Newport down. This division is said to have had their headquarters on the east side of the Pend Oreille River, near Usk and Cusick, at a little creek called *Tsu'kol* (said to be from the name of the little water ouzel or dipper, because these birds were plentiful at this place). There were other winter camps on the river, most of them on the east side, and all within a radius of about 9 miles of this place. The present-day Lower Kalispel, consisting of Chief Marcellin's band, still live in this neighborhood. They refused to go on the Colville and other reserves, and lately had a strip of land reserved for them here. It appears that a small band formerly wintered at *Stlkamtsi'n* ("confluence"), near the mouth of the Calispell River. Another old camp or village was at *Nyé'yot*, now called Indian Creek, on the east side of the river, about nine miles below Newport, where there is an island in the river. According to some, the main camp of the Lower Kalispel long ago was at a place on Pend Oreille River called *Steet'a*, in the district where Chief Marcellin's band still live. . The Upper Kalispel occupied all the tribal territory now within Idaho and Montana. Besides the band that formerly wintered at the outlet of Pend Oreille Lake, a band had headquarters at *Shwe'wi'* ("portage"), on the east bank of the river, at Albany Falls, and another at *Qapqape'* ("sand"), near Sand Point; and there are said to have been smaller bands at other places. In later times a band called "Camas Prairie" Kalispel, numbering about fifteen lodges, had their headquarters near the confines of the Pend d'Oreilles. A few descendants of this band are now on the Flathead Reserve. In later years the Pend Oreille Lake band often shifted their winter camps to various places within their territory, and occasionally many of them wintered with the Lower Kalispel. It is uncertain whether any band had regular headquarters at Newport, but people occasionally wintered there.

The Spokan.—The Spokan were in three main groups:[a] (1) The Lower Spokan, occupying the mouth and lower part of Spokane River, including the present Spokan Indian Reserve. (2) The Upper Spokan, or Little Spokan, occupying the Little Spokane River and all the country east of the Lower Spokan to within the borders of Idaho. Part of their territory formed a wedge between the Coeur d'Alêne and Kalispel. The plateau country south of Spokane River, around Davenport and toward Palouse, was used as a summering and hunting ground by both these divisions, and it seems there was no distinct line here between them. (3) The South or Middle

[a] For the Indian names of these divisions, see p. 328.

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361 619 13 Spokan occupied the whole Hangmans Creek country, extending south along the borders of the Coeur d'Alêne. It seems that they did not go west of Cheney. There were several bands of these divisions but I did not obtain their names and locations. A band called *Sntswwé'stsxne* lived at the head of the Little Spokane River.

162 POPULATION.—Informants agree that a long time ago the people of all the Flathead tribes were very numerous, but it is impossible to obtain any definite estimate of what the population was in early times. The oldest estimates I obtained were based on the number of lodges in winter camps about 1850. Most of these vary so much that they are of little value. This may be due partly to the fact that the number of people dwelling at certain points varied in different winters. Thus the number of lodges of the Kalispel in the winter camp or village at the outlet of Pend d'Oreille Lake is stated to have been not over 8 some winters, and in other winters as many as 15, while occasionally there were only 2 or 3, or even none at all. Likewise, at a place on Spokane River there were often 6 lodges, but some winters there were as many as 12, and occasionally 1 or 2 or none [199] at all. At a time before horses were in general use the number of lodges to the winter camp probably did not fluctuate so much, so that many places had nearly the same number of inhabitants every winter, thus corresponding to conditions found formerly among the Coeur d'Alêne and other tribes. Of the Spokan, the upper division is said to have been the most numerous. The Lower Spokan were not so many; while the Middle Spokan were always a small body, numbering only a few hundred. A story is told relating the reason for their small numbers.[42] The whole Spokan tribe is said to have numbered more people than the Coeur d'Alêne, immediately prior to the advent of the fur traders; the Kalispel about the same as the Spokan; and the Pend 162 d'Oreilles more than either. The Flathead numbered less than the 171 Pend d'Oreilles, but it is said that they were much reduced by wars. Some say that tradition relates they were at one time the most populous and important tribe of the Flathead group, being considered the head tribe of the group. The *Sxmtē'use* and the Salish-*Tunā'xe* were 161 said to be less in numbers than the Pend d'Oreilles. It thus seems 162 possible that the total population of the Flathead tribes some time +171 after the introduction of the horse, or before the beginning of the wars with the Blackfoot, may have been in the neighborhood of 15,000.[43] The Lewis and Clark estimates [44] around 1805–06, of 600 for the Spokan, 1,600 for the Kalispel and Pend d'Oreilles, and 600 for the Flat-

[42] Folk-Tales of Salishan and Sahaptin Tribes. Memoirs American Folk-lore Society, vol. XI, p. 122.

[43] Ravalli stated that about 1860, and perhaps later, the traders estimated the Spokan, Kalispel, and Pend d'Oreilles each to have numbered about 1,000. The Flathead were considered to have numbered a little less, making perhaps a total of about 3,900 to 3,800 for the four tribes. The Kutenai on both sides of the line were thought to number less than 2,000; and the Nez Percé, from 3,000 to 3,500.

[44] See Bull. 30, Bur. Amer. Ethn.

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head, are probably much too low for the time. The present-day population of the tribes, as given by the United States Department of Indian Affairs, is—

	1905	1906	1907	1908	1909	1910
Flathead (Flathead Reservation, Mont.)	557	615	623	590	598	.....
Pend d'Oreilles (Flathead Reservation, Mont.)	640	627	633	670	665	.....
Kalispel (Flathead Reservation, Mont.)	197	199	202	192	182	.....
Kalispel (Colville Agency, Wash.)	[1] 98	98	98	98	96	95
Spokan (Flathead Reservation, Mont.) [2]	135	133	135	144	138	.....
Spokan (Colville Agency, Wash.):						
Upper and Middle	177	191	238	573	509	504
Lower	277	252	301			
Spokan (Coeur d'Alêne Reservation, Idaho)	91	91	95	93	104	96
Okanagon (Colville Agency, Wash.):						
Northern half	548	527	348	557	475	538
Southern half	144					
Coeur d'Alêne (Coeur d'Alêne Reservation, Idaho)	494	496	506	492	533	537
Total [3]	3, 358	3, 229	3, 179	3, 409	3, 300	.....

[1] It is not clear whether this refers to Kalispel actually on the Colville Reserve or to the nontreaty band of Chief Marcellin living at their old home on Pend Oreille River. If these are not meant, the number of Marcellin's band should be added (about 100). It is said that a number of Chewelah Kalispel have allotments near Chewelah, and it is not clear whether they are included in the Kalispel under the Colville Agency.

[2] According to Michel Revais, the Spokan on the Flathead Reserve are nearly all Upper Spokan. There are a few Middle or Hangman's Spokan.

[3] The single figures and totals show that the census is approximate.

The chief reasons assigned for the great decrease in the population of the tribes are epidemics and wars. Almost the whole Salish-*Tunâ'ɣe* and the greater part of the *Sɛmtē'use* are said to have been killed off in wars. The survivors were nearly all swept off by small-pox about 1800. The Flathead are said to have been reduced to nearly half at the same time. The disease is said to have come from the Crow, passed through the Flathead to the *Sɛmtē'use*, Pend d'Oreilles, and Kalispel, and on to the Spokan and Colville, eventually dying out among the Salish tribes of the Columbia River. The Shahaptian tribes are said to have escaped or to have been only slightly affected. The Pend d'Oreilles, Kalispel, Spokan, Colville, and Columbia all suffered severely; but the disease is said to have been worst among the Spokan, whole bands of whom were wiped out. Michel Revais told me the following regarding this epidemic: "Small-pox came, it is said, from the Crow. This was in the wintertime about 100 years ago. The people were in their winter camps. My grandmother was a little girl at the time, and living at *Ntsuwé'* (little

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165 731 173 *[171] creek'), the first creek below Dixon, Mont. The father of my father-in-law was a little boy, and living at *Kalispé'lxm*, eastern Washington. Both of them took the disease, but survived. The Flathead suffered severely. Before this time they had a large population. It spread to the Pend d'Oreilles, then down to the Kalispel, the Colville, and finally down Columbia River. So many people died in some places that the lodges were full of corpses. Some of the 'long lodges' were quite full of dead and dying people. So many people died that they could not be buried, and the dogs ate the bodies."

165 731 [157] About 1847 measles spread over the country, and many died. The Columbia River tribes did not suffer much, but a great many deaths occurred among the Spokan. Revais said that many of the Spokan tried to cure themselves by sweat bathing and bathing in cold water, and all who did this died. Two white men called Walker and Lee, from Walker's Prairie, went among them and told them to keep dry and warm. After this very few died.

194 MIGRATIONS AND MOVEMENTS OF TRIBES.—Traditions of migrations refer principally to movements of tribes caused by wars. The most conspicuous changes of location were a southern movement of the Blackfoot and a western movement of the Crow and other Plains tribes. So far as known to the Flathead, the former migration was the earlier. The aggressions of these tribes resulted in forcing a general retirement to the south and west of the tribes occupying the western fringe of the plains, between latitudes 43° and 52°. The Shoshoni were forced south and west. Some bands were permanently, others temporarily, displaced; a few may have been destroyed. The Kutenai-*Tunâ'ɣe*, Salish-*Tunâ'ɣe*, and *Sɛmtê'use*, and possibly certain small bands of Upper Kutenai were driven west. All the Flathead moved westward. The Mountain Shoshoni and Bannock buffalo-hunting parties were driven west of the mountains. The Pend d'Oreilles and certain Kutenai moved southward and other Kutenai northward. For a time the buffalo hunting of the mountain Shoshoni, Bannock, Flathead, and possibly some Kutenai bands was partially discontinued. The Flathead and Pend d'Oreilles concentrated in large groups. At the instance of the Flathead, the Salish and other western tribes began to cooperate in buffalo hunting, war, and mutual protection. This resulted in the invasion of the plains for hunting and war by the Coeur d'Alêne, Nez Percé, and other plateau tribes; the checking of further invasion and displacement by eastern tribes; the reoccupation of certain territories by the western tribes, and resumption of buffalo hunting.

000 The incidents of these tribal movements were as follows: At a time about six or seven generations ago (about 1700 or 1750), just before the Blackfoot began to have horses, war parties of Blackfoot attacked the Salish-*Tunâ'ɣe*. At this time the Shoshoni had plenty of horses,

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the Salish-*Tunâ'ɣe* and Flathead had them, the Kutenai had none, and the Kutenai-*Tunâ'ɣe* few or none. About this time the bands of Shoshoni living in the country north and east of the Salish-*Tunâ'ɣe* were attacked. Blackfoot parties in great force appeared persistently, and drove the Shoshoni out of the country, killing numbers of them. Finally all the Shoshoni disappeared south of the Missouri, and no Shoshoni came near the Missouri again for many years. The people of some bands were nearly all killed off, while others fled to the south. Some of them migrated a long distance, in order to be out of reach of the Blackfoot, and it is not known where they settled. None of them, except perhaps a few stragglers, went west into the mountains, and none stayed east of the mountains anywhere north of the Yellowstone. They went to a distant country and disappeared. Some of them may have been killed by the Crow.[48] At about the same time, when the Shoshoni were first attacked, the Blackfoot may also have driven out the more northern bands of Kutenai (the Kutenai-*Tunâ'ɣe*) that lived east of the mountains. Information obtained from the Kutenai agrees with this. The attacks of the Blackfoot on the Salish-*Tunâ'ɣe* continued, and for a number of years there existed a constant warfare between these tribes. The Salish-*Tunâ'ɣe* were a strong, wealthy, warlike tribe, and noted for courage. They resisted the Blackfoot stoutly, but at last were reduced to a remnant that lived at one place on Sun River. Here they held out for some time, but finally they were overwhelmed and completely scattered. Some were made slaves by the Blackfoot and others were adopted as members of the tribe. Some escaped and took refuge among western tribes. Most of them crossed the Rockies and settled among the Kutenai and Pend d'Oreilles. A number settled among the Flathead and a few among the Kalispel and even the Colville. Some strayed farther away and settled among the Nez Percé and mountain Shoshoni. A very few took refuge among the Crow, but none among the Coeur d'Alêne. Shortly before the final breaking up of the tribe, a band of them migrated east and nothing further was heard of them. Another band went somewhere south of the Missouri, where after a time they were attacked by either Blackfoot or Crow and most of them were killed. The remnants settled among the mountain Shoshoni and Bannock. Some *Tunâ'ɣe* died of a disease of some kind.

(At a later time Mr. Teit writes, basing his statement on information obtained from the Kutenai): The tribe had no horses and no guns. At some time, long ago, one of the bands living near Browning was visited by an epidemic, perhaps smallpox, and all died except

[48] In answer to queries, I gained no information from the Flathead regarding the Comanche and Kiowa having lived in the north on the confines of the Flathead country. If they ever lived there they may have been considered Shoshoni, perhaps included among the Shoshonean bands who migrated south at the beginning of the wars with the Blackfoot. Neither did I get any information as to the Bannock having lived east of the mountains. Some of them occasionally wintered there, but their headquarters were around Fort Hall.

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nine, who became well through the ministrations of a young woman (called the younger sister). This girl had an elder sister married to a man of the other band, and lived among them. The nine survivors went to take up their abode with their friends of the other band, but the latter would not let them near for they were afraid of contagion. [563] At last they allowed the girl to join her sister. The other eight[A] then left the country, crossed the mountains to the west and settled among the Pend d'Oreilles. Some years afterwards the remaining large band disappeared, and it is not known whether they were exterminated by the Blackfoot or some other tribe, died of smallpox, or migrated. It is generally believed that they went off in a body to some distant country where their descendants are now living.

After the disruption of the Salish-*Tunâ'ɣa*, Blackfoot parties began to enter the Flathead country and to attack the Flathead who wintered in the northern and eastern parts of the tribal territory. Many were killed. The rest forsook their former homes and retired farther south and west. The Blackfoot raids continued until all the Flathead concentrated for protection and moved west into the mountains.

All the tribes who had formerly inhabited the plains along the eastern side of the Rockies in this region had now disappeared, while the mountain Shoshoni and Bannock, who had for some time been in the habit of going east for buffalo hunting, were now, like the Flathead, obliged to remain west in the mountains and hunt buffalo at short range. The whole country along the eastern foot of the Rockies, north of the Yellowstone, was in possession of the Blackfoot and had become very dangerous ground. The entire Flathead tribe now wintered in the Bitterroot Valley, generally in a single large camp near Stevensville. Here they constantly coralled and guarded the large number of horses they possessed.

About this time the Crow were first heard of as advancing from the east and fighting the Shoshoni, whom they drove out of the Yellowstone River country into the mountains and around the headwaters of the river to the west and south. It seems that the Crow occupied part of the Shoshoni country and stayed there. In the same way the Blackfoot now occupied all the Kutenai-*Tunâ'ɣa* country and part of the northern Shoshoni country, but they did not winter or make any permanent camps in the old Salish-*Tunâ'ɣa* country. Their camps were all north of Sun River and the Missouri. Probably they would have gradually occupied permanently most of the country their war parties had overrun had they not been checked by the alliance of all the western tribes. This may also have checked the further advancement of the Crow westward. Having overrun nearly all the eastern country, the Blackfoot now extended their war expeditions west of the divide, and sometimes appeared at Stevensville, where they attempted several times to run off the Flathead horses, but never

[A] [i.e., eight Kutenai---Analyst]

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attacked the camp. They also appeared in the Upper Kutenai and Pend d'Oreilles countries, and in somewhat later times their war parties occasionally penetrated into the country of the Kalispel. However, the only ones that suffered much in these raids west of the Rockies were the *Sɛmtē'use*, who are said to have been easy-going and loosely organized. Large war parties of Blackfoot attacked them several times and killed large numbers of people. The remnant of the tribe forsook their old camping places and wintered near Missoula. Here or on the Big Blackfoot River they were attacked again and many were killed. This was about 1800, before the smallpox came and before Lewis and Clark arrived. The remainder of the tribe succumbed to the smallpox and the few survivors settled among the Pend d'Oreilles.

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A short time previous to this date the Pend d'Oreilles had combined with the Flathead for hunting on the plains, and in great measure they had forsaken their old style of life. Many of them had evacuated the region around Flathead Lake and the extreme northern part of their territory, at least for a great part of the year, and the bulk of the tribe wintered in one great camp at Mission (*Sniye'lɛmɛn*). About this time the Blackfoot began to have guns, which made them stronger, and parties often appeared in the northern Pend d'Oreilles country. The Kutenai could not cross the mountains to hunt, and at the invitation of the Pend d'Oreilles some of them had joined the latter for hunting buffalo. These Kutenai belonged to Rexford and Tobacco Plains; but some of them are said to have lived originally east of the mountains, and others at places in the northern part of the Kutenai country. In later times those Kutenai who associated most with the Pend d'Oreilles seldom returned to their own country after their return from buffalo hunting, but made their winter camps in that part of the Pend d'Oreilles country evacuated by the Pend d'Oreilles, chiefly north and west of Flathead Lake. Occasionally camps made west and south of the lake were composed of both Kutenai and Pend d'Oreilles. Some time after the Blackfoot had begun to make expeditions west of the mountains Crow war parties occasionally came into the western part of the Flathead country.

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The Flathead now invited the western tribes to join forces with them for hunting buffalo in the old Flathead country east of the mountains. The Coeur d'Alêne and Nez Percé began to come, and about the same time many Kalispel joined the Pend d'Oreilles. Within a short time large parties of Nez Percé and Coeur d'Alêne arrived annually for buffalo hunting. It was not long before these forces were augmented by large numbers of Spokan and Columbia, and by small numbers of people from neighboring tribes farther west. At first the allies combined in two or three large parties. Sometimes Flathead and Nez Percé went together in one party and Pend

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648 224 d'Oreilles, Kutenai, and Coeur d'Alêne in another; but there were often different alignments. The Blackfoot and Crow were not much feared now and seldom appeared, at least in the more western and southern parts of the Flathead country. The allied parties often camped and hunted far afield on the borders of their enemies' territory along the Missouri and Yellowstone, as well as all through the old territory of the Salish-*Tunā'ɣe* and part of that of the Kutenai-*Tunā'ɣe*. Usually the great Pend d'Oreilles party hunted east and north and the Flathead party east and south. After the alliance of the northern plateau tribes with the Flathead, the mountain Shoshoni and Bannock began to hunt buffalo again on the plains. Some of their parties, alone or in conjunction with Salish, went as far north as the main Missouri. The strip of old Shoshoni country east of the Salish, from the Yellowstone to the Canadian boundary, became an intertribal hunting ground, and many battles were fought there. The Salish allies claim to have had generally the upper hand [177] in the greater part of this territory. All the tribes now had firearms, the Coeur d'Alêne and some Shoshoni being the latest to acquire 648 guns. Conditions continued to improve for the western tribes, who now easily held their own against the eastern tribes. It was no longer necessary to go in large parties. A few hundred people in each party usually sufficed. The Nez Percé, Bannock, Shoshoni, and Flathead often went separately. Most of the Kutenai and western Salish tribes still went with the Pend d'Oreilles, but the Coeur d'Alêne sometimes went with the Nez Percé, and the Flathead with the Shoshoni. The southern and western movement of Blackfoot and the western movement of the Crow were checked. The latter began to move north rather than west. After buffalo hunting was resumed by the Flathead they learned of other tribes who had meanwhile migrated west, and soon they came in contact with them. These were the Arapaho and Cheyenne in the southeast, the Gros Ventres or Atsina in the northeast, and the Assiniboin near the Gros Ventres. The Assiniboin are said to have come into the western plains from some place still farther east or northeast. They were enemies of the Blackfoot. The Gros Ventres are thought to have come about 1800 from some place a little east or south of the Crow. At one time the Gros Ventres and the Arapaho may have occupied the country to the east of the northern part of the Plains Shoshoni, and the Crow may have pushed them out. At that time they probably had no horses and were more sedentary. At one time the Gros Ventres, coming from the south, invaded some of the Blackfoot country. A war ensued, in which the Gros Ventres were defeated. Later they became friendly with the Blackfoot and were sometimes their allies in war. The Crow came almost directly from the east and were generally enemies of the Gros Ventres and Blackfoot. About the middle of the last

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century some other tribes were met or heard of, such as the Sarsi, who lived among the Blackfoot; the Cree in the north, just beyond the Blackfoot; Stony Assiniboin, in the Rocky Mountains to the north, who are supposed to have broken away from the real Assiniboin farther east; and the River Crow who had separated from the Mountain Crow and migrated north to near the borders of the Gros Ventres. Still other tribes were the Sioux, who came from very far east and were enemies of all the tribes; also the Omaha and others to the southeast. Iroquois and stragglers from various distant tribes came in with the early white traders and explorers. The causes of the southern movement of the Blackfoot and the western movements of the Crow and other tribes are unknown, but it is supposed that they originated in their desire to find a better buffalo country and to obtain supplies of horses. The country of the Salish and Shoshoni, east of the Rockies from about the Canadian line to a little south of the Yellowstone, was probably the best buffalo country. On the other hand, the Blackfoot and some eastern tribes are said to have had comparatively few buffalo in their countries. Also the western tribes are said to have been supplied with horses at an earlier date than those of the east. It is also considered possible that some of the tribes which invaded the western plains may have been forced west by enemies, as nearly all the eastern tribes fought among themselves as well as against the western tribes.[46] There are some vague traditions of other movements of tribes which may indicate migrations in very early times. They are not particularly connected with wars and are as follows:

A vague tradition among some of the Pend d'Oreilles says that their remote ancestors broke away from the main body of the people; that they were attacked by enemies, crossed a lake on the ice, and finally, after a series of migrations, reached their present country. The Thompson have a somewhat similar tradition. Some Pend d'Oreilles consider the Kalispel as an offshoot of themselves.

The *Slatē'use* or Chewelah are said to have been a part or a band of the Lower Kalispel, originally inhabiting the Calispell Lake region, who moved into the Colville Valley. They claimed equal rights in the camas digging near Calispell Lake with the Kalispel of Usk and of the east side of the Pend Oreille River.

Although there appear to be no definite traditions on the subject, Revais considered the Kalispel as a branch of the Pend d'Oreilles

[46] In reply to queries, it was stated that the real or original Blackfoot country was north of Milk River. The Piegan lived here and the Blood and real Blackfoot north of them. At one time the Piegan neighbored with the *Kutenai-Tsuā'ps* to the west and Gros Ventres to the east. The Assiniboin were east of the Gros Ventres. Whether the countries of the last two tribes were originally Piegan or Blackfoot is unknown. Kutenai, Piegan, and Shoshoni territories met at the Sweet Grass Hills. The Piegan also occupied the head of Milk and Marias Rivers, but this was old *Kutenai-Tsuā'ps* country. It is not known how long the Shoshoni had been in possession of their country between the Missouri and the Sweet Grass Hills before the advent of the horse, but they are thought to have been there a long time.

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rather than vice versa. He as well as others considered the Flathead as the parent tribe of the Flathead group. Revais stated that he had heard some vague traditions regarding some movements of tribes in the Spokan and Palous countries, but he had forgotten them so far that he did not care to make any statement as to what they were.

There was a tradition among the Flathead that a long time ago part of their tribe migrated to the west, and that the descendants of this group are living in a distant country and still speak the Flathead language. This belief is held by several tribes, and is perhaps too general to be taken into account. Some of my informants believed that all related tribes of every language had originated by breaking away from some parent group and migrating here and there in search of better food supply, but the migrations happened so long ago that in most cases the traditions are lost. It seems possible that there have been some early movements of Flathead people westward toward the salmon streams. The Pend Oreille River route is easy of travel, and was the main route of communication between the plains and the western plateaus from the earliest times. Any migrations which may have occurred would have been by way of this route.

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INTERCOURSE AND INTERMARRIAGE.—In olden times the Flathead had most intercourse with Salish-*Tunâ'ɣe* and Shoshoni and intermarried chiefly with them. There was also considerable intercourse and intermarriage with the Pend d'Oreilles and *Sɛmte'use*. The Flathead living around Helena are said to have mixed a great deal with the Salish-*Tunâ'ɣe*, and even the Flathead of Butte and neighborhood were mixed with them. Some people say that before the days of horses the Flathead intermarried very little with other tribes; but there was some intermarriage with Shoshoni, and a little with Pend d'Oreilles and Salish-*Tunâ'ɣe*. The Salish-*Tunâ'ɣe* intermarried with Flathead, and also with the Shoshoni of the Lower Teton River. There was slight intermarriage with the Pend d'Oreilles, and possibly some with Blackfoot. Most intermarriage, however, was with the Kutenai-*Tunâ'ɣe*. Some say that there was so much intermarriage with the latter that there was no very distinct dividing line between the two. The people north of Sun River, on the Teton and Marias, south of Browning, were more than half Kutenai in blood and language. It seems that among the inhabitants of the whole strip of country next the mountains and between the Blackfoot and Flathead a great deal of intermarriage had taken place. Probably Salish blood predominated from about Teton River southward and Kutenai northward, the people in the center being the most mixed. The *Sɛmtē'use* had most intercourse with the Pend d'Oreilles, and intermarried chiefly with them. Those people who lived on the upper Missoula River intermarried to some extent with

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Flathead of Butte or neighborhood. The Pend d'Oreilles had a great deal of intercourse with the Kalispel, and considerable with the Upper Kutenai and *Sxmtē'use*. Intercourse was rather less with the Flathead, slight with the Salish-*Tunā'ɣe*, Kutenai-*Tunā'ɣe*, and Coeur d'Alêne, and least of all with the Nez Percé. Intermarriage occurred in the same relative degree as intercourse. The Kalispel had slight intercourse with the Lake, probably a little more with the Lower Kutenai, very little with the Coeur d'Alêne, considerable with the Upper Spokan and Colville, and a great deal with the Pend d'Oreilles. Intermarriage was chiefly with the last-named tribe. There was some with Spokan and Colville, and hardly any with other tribes. There are a few instances on record of Kalispel marrying Okanagon and Sanpoil. The Spokan probably had most intercourse and intermarriage with the Coeur d'Alêne, considerable with Kalispel, less with Colville and Sanpoil, and very little with other tribes. Some instances are on record of marriages with Okanagon and Columbia. I did not hear of any intermarriage with Paloos and other Shahaptian tribes, and intermarriage between the western tribes and Plains tribes was rare. After the advent of horses and the alliance of the tribes for buffalo hunting intercourse between the allied tribes increased and there were more intertribal marriages. Intermarriage now occurred between Flathead and Nez Percé, but no marriages were made with Crow or other Plains tribes. It seems that a little extraneous blood was introduced by marriage with slave women and captives of war, particularly among the Spokan, where some men had slave women of Snake lineage. A few others were from tribes south of The Dalles and possibly a very few were Shahaptian. The Flathead and Salish-*Tunā'ɣe* are said to have had a few slave or captive women in early times. It is supposed that they were Cree and Blackfoot or from the northeast. Women of eastern tribes were seldom made captives in war; they were almost invariably killed. After the advent of the whites the Flathead country became a haven for refugees of various tribes, who in many cases married and settled down there. Strange Indians in the service of the fur companies frequently settled among the Flathead. Thus there are a few descendants of many different tribes on the Flathead Reserve now. According to Michel Revais there are on the reserve people descended from Lillooet, Thompson, Shuswap, Columbia, Okanagon, Sanpoil, Colville, Coeur d'Alêne, Spokan, Kalispel, Pend d'Oreilles, *Sxmtē'use*, *Tunā'ɣe*, Kutenai, Blackfoot, Shoshoni, Nez Percé, Crow, Delaware (?), Shawnee, Cherokee, Chippewa, Iroquois; and possibly others, besides some half-bloods, mostly of French and Scotch descent. Some cases mentioned by him were as follows: *Xāpa'eqxt*, an Upper Thompson; *Sonsā'utkan*, a *Stlapai'ux* from Fraser River, who spoke Thompson, Lillooet, and Shuswap, and was a shaman; Little Charley, a man

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177 from the Fraser Delta, mixed with Lower Thompson; *Tsxlèmit'*, a Colville; Michel Colville, a Colville. These men were all in the employ of the Hudson Bay Co. at Fort Colville, and came to the Flathead together about 1860. They all married on the reserve, but left few descendants; only Michel Colville had two sons and a daughter who grew up. About the same time Michel Camille, half French and half Shuswap, settled on the reserve. He was born at Kamloops. About 1890 there came an Upper Thompson, who married and was living in 1910 on the reserve at Mission. Other cases are Joe McDonald, son of Angus McDonald, former Hudson Bay chief; Billy Irvine, son of another Hudson Bay man, an interpreter at Mission; John Grant, whose mother was Kalispel and whose father was a Hudson Bay man. It is said that John Grant lived at one time in a roundhouse of six rooms near Missoula, and kept his six wives, one in each room. Each wife was of a different tribe. One was Crow and one was Snake. Later he deserted his wives and children and went to Red River, Manitoba, and never returned. His descendants are now on the Flathead Reserve. Another case was that of Jack Demers, of French descent, who married a sister of Michel Revais, and at one time had a business in French Town. He had two sons and four daughters, all of whom are on the reserve. Jim Dalloway, Ben Kaiser, and Tom Hill, Shawnee refugees, settled among the Flathead about the time the early traders arrived. A white man who had a Piegan woman for wife settled in the Bitterroot Valley a long time ago and had a very large family. His children all intermarried with Flathead and some of them and their descendants are now on the reserve. About 1810 a Flathead girl was captured by Piegan or some other tribe from a Flathead camp near Sun River. Later on she married a Chippewa. Some of her descendants came back a few years ago and proved their rights in the Flathead Reserve. Revais claimed that there were 12 persons on the reserve who were half Flathead and half Shoshoni, and 6 men who had Nez Percé wives. Fifteen Iroquois settled among the Flathead and Pend d'Oreilles and 19 among the Colville. All were at one time employees of the Hudson Bay Co., and all married women of these tribes. They have some descendants on the Flathead and Colville Reservations to-day. It is said that about 1820–1825 a small party of Iroquois, originally from around Caughnawaga, Quebec, under the leadership of Ignace La Mousse (or Big Ignace), reached the Flathead country, and being well received there, married and became members of the tribe. This party had been migrating westward for several years. Revais stated that when the treaty was made Governor Stevens told the Flathead that the Jocko Reserve was to be for the three tribes of Flathead, Pend d'Oreilles, and Kutenai. Some of the Flathead wanted a reserve for themselves, as they did not consider themselves

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bound by very strong ties of association with the Pend d'Oreilles and Kutenai. Sub-chief *Arli'*, with 25 lodges, and "Small Chief" Adolphe, agreed to go on the reserve. It seems that these people were very friendly to the Pend d'Oreilles. They may have been more closely related to them by intermarriage than other Flathead, or they may have been descendants of the Flathead who formerly lived next to the Pend d'Oreilles. "Small Chief" Ambrose and Chief Charlos (or Carlos) refused at first to go on the reserve, saying that if they had to share a reserve with other tribes they preferred to go with the Shoshoni. These chiefs and their people probably represented the element of the Flathead tribe long associated with the Shoshoni, and they may have been descendants of the Flathead formerly located next to the Shoshoni in the region of Big Hole Valley. When the treaty was made, the head chief and a majority of the tribe favored going with the Shoshoni rather than with any other people, if a reservation could not be obtained for themselves alone. In later years Kalispel and Spokan were allowed rights on the reserve, along with the Flathead, Pend d'Oreilles, and Kutenai.

MENTAL AND PHYSICAL TRAITS OF TRIBES.—The Flathead are of medium stature, well built, and good-looking. The ancient Flathead were noted for courtesy, affability, hospitality, liberality, kindness, honesty, truthfulness, and courage. Lewdness of women is said to have been rare. The Pend d'Oreilles, Kalispel, and Spokan are said to have partaken to a considerable degree of the same characteristics of temperament and physique as the Flathead. In later days there was much less chastity among the women of the last-named tribes. Some of the Shahaptian people considered the Spokan to be of a rather roving disposition, fond of trading, sports, and dancing, bold, and rather revengeful. Some tribes lower down the Columbia considered them as raiders and robbers. The Hangman's Creek Spokan were more serious, reserved, and quieter than the others. The Salish-*Tund'ze* were fond of trading, warlike, courageous, and sagacious; the *Sxmtl'use*, easy-going, careless, unwarlike, less prudent than their neighbors, and sometimes apt to talk and act foolishly. The Coeur d'Alêne were proud, cruel, and of a rather reserved, determined disposition. The Kalispel considered them too cautious and not very bold. The Thompson were thought to be wild and treacherous; the Kutenai, easy-going and not very warlike, rather reserved and cautious, honest, and sincere. The Shoshoni were considered good horsemen, and of a more roving disposition than the Flathead.

All the northern tribes and bands resembled the Flathead in physique and height, and many of the men were tall. The Shoshoni to the south are said to have been small people. The Lemhi, Shoshoni, and Bannock men were of about the same size as the Flathead, or possibly a little larger. The Omaha were big, stout, fleshy people.

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000 The Crow and Cree were tall (slightly taller than the Flathead), and were noted for having good hair. The Piegan were of about the same stature as the Cree and the Crow. They were noted as treacherous and adepts at stealing horses. The Nez Percé and nearest western Salish tribes were considered similar to the Flathead in appearance and size, but there were slight differences in looks between some of the tribes. The Bannock and Cayuse languages are said to have sounded a good deal alike, and were hard to speak correctly. The Coeur d'Alêne was considered a hard language to learn, and the Kutenai still harder.

II. MANUFACTURES

101 MATERIAL CULTURE IN GENERAL.—As I spent only about a week among the Flathead, and visited the Lower Kalispel and other tribes merely to obtain vocabularies and information regarding tribal boundaries, my notes on the material culture of all the tribes are very
197 meager. As far as my information goes, it shows the Flathead to have had almost all the traits of a typical Plains tribe for about the last 200 years or more. Previous to the introduction of the horse, however, their material culture resembled more closely that of the plateau area. The Salish-*Tunâ'ɣe* were probably identical in material culture with the Flathead and neighboring Shoshoni, while the Pend d'Oreilles and other tribes remained more like plateau tribes until a much later date. On the whole, the ancient material culture of the area occupied by the Flathead group appears to have formed a link between that of the Salish tribes to the west and northwest and that of the Shoshoni of the mountains and plains to the east and southeast, although the difference between them was not great. The Flathead, and probably the Salish-*Tunâ'ɣe*, appear to have more nearly approximated the eastern Shoshoni, while the other tribes had more leanings toward the culture of the Kutenai, Coeur
[128] d'Alêne, and Okanagon. As I have no detailed information on any of the tribes, I have not thought it necessary to treat them separately.

*171 WORK IN STONE, WOOD, ETC.—It seems that work in stone was confined chiefly to the making of arrowheads, spearheads, knives, and
[411] pipes. Probably some pestles, hammers, and mauls of stone were
412 made by all the tribes. They were quite common among the Spokan and Kalispel. Mortars of stone or wood were used by all the tribes.
324 The methods of flaking and working stone appear to have been the
531 same as among the Coeur d'Alêne. Work in wood and bone seems
323 to have been weakly developed, and there was little ornamentation by carving. As far as I could learn, no pottery was made.

531 PAINTING AND DYEING.—Painting and dyeing were practiced to a
+171 great extent. Quills were commonly dyed, and sometimes hides. Ornamentation by dyeing was used occasionally in mats. Painting

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was common on clothes, bags, etc. Before small beads came in, most ornamentation was in quillwork and painting. The dyes were principally red, blue, and yellow; but green and brown, and possibly black, were also used. Paints were of a great variety of colors. Most of them were obtained from mineral earths.

DRESSING OF SKINS.—Skins were dressed almost in the same manner as by the Coeur d'Alêne. In methods of dressing heavy hides, such as buffalo and elk, the grainers and scrapers were like those used by the Blackfoot.[1] Deerskins and other smaller skins were dressed by methods in vogue among the Coeur d'Alêne,[2] Shoshoni,[3] and Blackfoot.[4] Skins were commonly smoked by the same methods as among the Coeur d'Alêne [5] and Shoshoni.[6]

RAWHIDE WORK.—Bags of several shapes were made of rawhide. Square and oblong bags made of single pieces of hide folded, the sides sewed and provided with long fringes, and the fronts painted, were used before the advent of the horse, but in those days the fringes were comparatively short. Later, when used on horses, the fringes were lengthened, reaching a maximum of more than a meter. A large hide bag of oblong shape was used for storing fat and meat, and another one is described somewhat like a bucket. The parfléche came into use with the introduction of the horse. Rawhide medicine cases, cylindrical in shape, were made by all the tribes, but their use is probably not very ancient, at least among the Spokan. Rawhide bags and parfléches were made in large numbers and were often sold to neighboring tribes.

WOVEN AND OTHER BAGS.—Skin bags of various sizes and shapes were ornamented with fringes and with quill or bead embroidery.

Some soft bags of animal skins in the hair were also used. Woven wallets of the Nez Percé type were made by the Spokan and at least by some of the Kalispel. In later years a few were also made by Pend d'Oreilles and Flathead. Bags woven of cedar bark and twine were made by the Kalispel and Pend d'Oreilles, but not by the Flathead, who, according to some, made skin bags only.

WOVEN MATS.—Sewed tule mats were made by all the tribes, and are still made by some of the Spokan and Kalispel. Some mats woven of the bark of dead willow trees were made for lying and sitting on. The Flathead made very few of the latter. Some mats woven of rushes were also made and used for spreading food upon.

Some of them are said to have been very gaudy, with stripes dyed red and blue, and occasionally with other colors. Some mats had their

[1] c, pp. 67, 68, figs. 33, 34.
[2] See p. 64.
[3] f, pp. 175, 176.
[4] See Blackfoot, c, p. 65.
[5] See p. 64.
[6] f, p. 176, fig. 3.

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285 631 *171 edges cut in ornamental designs, as among the Lower Kalispel. (Fig. 26.)

WOVEN CLOTHING.—No goat's wool blankets were made by any of the tribes. Some robes woven of strips of rabbit skins were made by the Kalispel, and to a slight extent by the Spokan and probably the Pend d'Oreilles, but it seems not by the Flathead. No clothing of vegetal fiber of any kind was made by these tribes, except woven caps of the Nez Percé type, which were made in numbers by the Spokan, and to a less extent by the Kalispel. It is said that the Flathead, Pend d'Oreilles, and Upper and Lower Kutenai did not make these caps. Revais stated that the Nez Percé and several of the tribes bordering on them made many woven caps for women, and woven wallets; but that the Kutenai, Blackfoot, and Shoshoni did not make them. He also claimed that robes woven of strips of skin (generally rabbit or muskrat) were not made by the Nez Percé, and only by some of the Shoshoni; that the Bannock made a good many, and possibly the Kutenai made a few. The Blackfoot, he said, used them and also made them.

286 *171 [237]

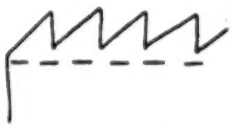

FIGURE 26.—Ornamental edge of a mat

*171 283 *171 294 237 *171 227

TWINE, ETC.—Thread, twine, and rope were made of bark and hide, Indian hemp being chiefly used. Most of the thread for sewing was of sinew taken from the backs of animals, such as buffalo, elk, and deer. Needles were little used, but sewing was generally done with sharp bone awls. Nets were not much employed. Even the Spokan used traps and spears chiefly in catching salmon. Large nets, however, were used commonly by them in some places. It is likely that nets were employed more extensively by the Pend d'Oreilles and Kalispel than the information I collected shows, but it is doubtful if the Flathead used nets to any extent. According to some informants, they were not used at all.

285 *171

WOVEN BASKETRY.—Flexible baskets of the kinds made by the Coeur d'Alêne, Nez Percé, and other tribes to the west and southwest were not made, but at one time coiled basketry was made by all the tribes.

*171 415 314

BARK BASKETRY.—Some birch-bark baskets were made by all the tribes, although certain bands, especially among the Flathead, made very few. It is said that most of the baskets were like the ordinary shape of those used by the tribes north and west; while some used by the Kalispel and Pend d'Oreilles were similar to a kind also employed by the Kutenai, and of rectangular shape. Most baskets made by these tribes, including the Lake (see p. 122), had the grain of the bark at right angles to the rim, while Thompson and Shuswap had it parallel to the rim. (See *e*, p. 480 et seq.) A few of the

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Lake baskets had the grain also parallel to the rim. Most baskets were devoid of decoration other than that introduced by the arrangement of stitching. (See pp. 52, 222.) Many temporary baskets of cedar bark were used—one made of a flat piece of bark with tied ends (see p. 53), a pail-shaped bucket, and a conical one. Baskets of the last-mentioned style were very much used by the Kalispel and are made yet. It seems that the Spokan and Flathead made the fewest bark baskets, and the Kalispel and Pend d'Oreilles the most. This may be partly accounted for by environment. Much of the Spokan country was either arid or prairie, with few good trees for bark close to the main camping places; while much of the Kalispel and Pend d'Oreilles countries are forested with an abundance of trees, including cedar.

COILED BASKETRY.[1]—Flexible baskets of the kinds made by the Coeur d'Alêne, Nez Percé, and other tribes to the west and southwest, were not made, but at one time coiled basketry was made by all the tribes. Some of the baskets intended for kettles were of very fine stitch and closely wrought. All the shapes were more or less circular. Some had bulging sides, and others were nearly straight sided. The bottoms of some were quite small, and others had rather large flat bottoms. It seems the "nut-shaped" basket of the Thompson was made. Nearly all baskets were made of split cedar roots. Formerly all baskets were plain. Imbrication seems to have been adopted by the Spokan and Kalispel about 1800, but it never spread to the Pend d'Oreilles and Flathead. Probably basket-making was on the wane among these tribes before the process had time to reach them fully. Even the Spokan and Kalispel never adopted it fully, many of their baskets being unimbricated. The Spokan still made a few baskets not many years ago. Imbrication seems to have reached the Lower Kutenai about the same time as the Kalispel, but whether it was learned from the latter or reached them by way of the Lake is uncertain. Some baskets were imbricated with bark only. It seems grass and tule were occasionally used.

According to the Salishan, Shahaptian and Wasco, none of the tribes south of the Columbia used imbrication. Coiling and imbrication have been introduced quite recently in the Fraser Delta, among the Squamish and Seshelt; in Fraser Delta by intermarriage with the Thompson, among the other tribes by intermarriage with the Lillooet. This is clearly stated by the Indians and evidenced by the basket forms and decorations. The Shuswap claim that the Chilcotin learned coiling from them. The style of imbrication of the Chilcotin differs, how-

[1] See e, pp. 140-142.

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ever, from the known Salish styles (o, pp. 344–351). The Carriers and *Stuwi'x* made no coiled basketry.

Some bands, especially among the Flathead, are said to have made very few baskets, while others made a considerable number. Revais stated regarding the distribution of coiled basketry that all the Flathead tribes made coiled baskets a long time ago, including, it is said, the Salish *Tunā'xe*. The Nez Percé and many bands of the Shoshoni made them. The Lower Kutenai made some. The Upper Kutenai and Blackfoot used coiled basketry, but did not make any as far as he had heard. They procured it in trade from neighbors.

From present information it appears that the Salish tribes of the region east of Columbia River made coiled basketry of the round types exclusively, except in the case of some trays. This is true of both their ancient and modern work. They never used imbrication. The Shuswap also made unimbricated coiled basketry. Among the Columbia, the most western of the Salish tribes in Washington, whose territory extended up to the Cascade Mountains, the traditional form of basket was of the angular type without much flare, with rounded corners similar to the common style of the Thompson. They also made round ones which were not very deep, and "nut-"shaped ones, but the common kind of carrying and household basket was angular. They have used imbrication as far back as tradition goes, but some say formerly many baskets were little imbricated. After the introduction of horses the round deep basket with small bottom—often so small that the basket could not stand—superseded the square type, because it is better adapted for packing on horses.

DESIGNS ON BASKETS, BAGS, ETC.—It is said that designs on mats were all in stripes, and most imbricated designs on baskets were in vertical stripes. Painted designs on bags and parfléches were all geometric, and most of the designs had names. Beaded and quilled designs were also for the most part geometric. Realistic designs were very little used. Flower designs, formerly rare but now much more common, have not been able to supplant the geometric designs.

DIVISION OF LABOR.—Women made all the baskets, mats, and bags, and dressed all the skins. They also did all the embroidery, made nearly all the clothes, painted all the bags, parfléches, etc., made the tents and erected them, gathered most of the fuel, did most of the cooking, dug all the roots, and collected and cured all the berries. They also helped the men with the horses and in other ways. Men made all the weapons and most of the tools, painted robes, shields, weapons, and anything connected with their guardian spirits, made the feather bonnets and certain articles of clothing. They also hunted, fought, and looked after the horses.

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III. HOUSE AND HOUSEHOLD

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SEMIUNDERGROUND LODGE.—The underground house was not used by the tribes of the Flathead group, except possibly a very few by the Kalispel and Lower Spokan. Revais stated, "None of the Flathead tribes used the underground lodge; neither did the Kutenai. The Colville never used them, or at least they have not used them since about 1800, and it is doubtful if they ever had them. The neighboring Sanpoil used only a very few. These lodges were peculiar to the region to the north and were employed along Columbia River down to The Dalles. The northern type had the entrance from the top; and the southern type from the side, on a level with the ground. Otherwise the construction of both was the same, and notched ladders were used in both (?). The two types overlapped in the northern part of the Columbia region, about the mouth of Okanagon River.[1] The Okanagon used both types to some extent, but most people wintered in mat lodges. One Lower Kalispel informant said he thought a few underground lodges with entrance from the side were used very long ago, while another man stated that long ago a partly earth-covered lodge of tent shape and above ground was sometimes used in the winter by the Kalispel, and possibly by others. This kind of lodge was called an earth-covered lodge, whereas the real underground earth-covered lodge was not used.

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344 361 171*

LONG LODGE.—Long lodges of double lean-to type were used at all large winter camps, especially in permanent camp sites. They were the dance and meeting houses of the band and were used for all public gatherings, ceremonies, and the housing of visitors. In large camps there were always two. One was used by the young people (generally men under 30 years of age) for dances, and the other by the older people for meetings. In some very large camps there was besides these a spare house or two of the same type for the accommodation of visitors. All the other houses of the camp consisted of tents, most of them mat covered. It seems, however, that long lodges were also sometimes used as regular dwelling houses. Some informants claimed that in very large camps there were sometimes from two to five dwelling houses of this kind. They were always made for six families, having three fires, with two families to each. There were no partitions. Revais said that a large winter camp would sometimes consist of about 5 long dwelling houses, each for 6 families, 2 long lodges used for dancing and meetings, possibly a spare long lodge for housing

361 342 171*

[592] [364]

[1] It seems that a few underground houses with entrance from the top were used far south along the Columbia among the Salish, who commonly employed the type with entrance from the side. A few with side entrance also extended as far north as the Thompson. Yakima and Klickitat informants deny ever having used any with entrance from the top, so it may be that this kind was not used by any of the Shahaptian tribes. The Molala are said to have used an underground lodge, but I could not get any details of its construction, and do not know whether the entrance was from the top or not. The Klamath, Takelma, and Yana used semiunderground lodges, according to Wasco and Klickitat informants, while, according to Revais, the Kuspuya used no real lodges of any kind, only shelters of brush.

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of parties of visitors and from about 40 to 50 conical lodges or tents. Great quantities of firewood were collected late in the fall and piled up where the winter camp was to be. The Kalispel claim that long lodges were used by them long ago in the largest winter camps, but were utilized only for dancing. Long lodges were sunk a foot or more in the ground and were covered with mats. Sometimes a lodge like an elongated tent of elliptical ground plan was used in the wintertime. It accommodated from four to six families, according to size. In the summertime the Spokan used some single lean-to shelters of mats at some of the large fishing places. Oblong or long lodges are said to have been used by all the Shahaptian tribes, some Shoshoni, and the Kutenai. I can not say whether these corresponded in construction to Salish types.

CONICAL LODGE OR TENT.—The conical lodge was the common family and living house of all the tribes. It was used by all the people in summer, and by most people also in winter. The three-pole foundation appears to have been generally used. Poles of the black pine (*Pinus contorta*) were preferred. The covering consisted of one or two layers of mats in summer and three or four layers in winter. All the mats were sewed tule mats, similar to those of the Thompson, and they were arranged horizontally and overlapping. These lodges varied in size. Generally two families inhabited each, but some large ones contained three, while many housed only a single family, especially if the family were large. The Flathead name for the conical mat lodge means in the Thompson language "old-style house" or "common old-style house." According to Flathead tradition, previous to the introduction of the horse, mats were used almost entirely as lodge covers. At that time only a few conical lodges, generally small ones, had covers of buffalo, moose, and elk skin. These were not painted. After the introduction of the horse the buffalo-skin tent soon supplanted for all seasons the mat tent among the Flathead and to a large extent among the other tribes as well. It became the only lodge used when traveling and when hunting on the plains. However, it never supplanted entirely the mat lodge among the Spokan and Kalispel, who continued to use some of them when at home. Mat coverings for lodges were not suitable for a horse people, who traveled much. At the present day log cabins are generallly used in the wintertime and canvas tents in the summer and when traveling. Conical lodges with square and oblong tops were not used. Revais said, "They were confined to the Yakima and people along Columbia River north to the Okanagon and Thompson." Skin tents were sometimes painted on the outside with pictures of dreams. The sun, moon, and stars were common figures. Geometric designs also occurred.

BARK LODGE.—Bark lodges were used long ago among the Pend d'Oreilles and Kalispel, but not among the Flathead and seldom among the Spokan. They were erected in spring and summer at

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camps where good bark was abundant. They were of the double lean-to or oblong type, and none of them were very large. The strips of bark were of the length of the lodge on one side from one entrance to the other, and as wide as obtainable. Usually there were three or four wide overlapping strips of bark on each side, laid horizontally. The bark was put on outside out. Among the Pend d'Oreilles cedar bark was almost altogether used, but the Kalispel claim to have employed tamarack and white-pine bark about as much as cedar. In some places the Pend d'Oreilles erected bark lodges on platforms of poles and boards on the top of posts, from 2 to 3 meters above the ground. In construction these lodges were the same as other bark lodges, but usually they had only one entrance, which was reached by a ladder consisting of a notched log. In the center of the lodge was a hearth of earth. These elevated lodges were used in places where fleas were numerous.

342 171* 314 [184] [354]

OTHER LODGES.—Shelters of brush were sometimes used by hunters in the mountains. Most of them were of double lean-to and conical forms; but some were of half-tent form, and others were little more than mere windbreaks, sheltering one side of the fire. Sometimes families who happened to stay in the mountains longer than expected, and who were not provided with skin tents and mats, made conical lodges of poles covered with brush, pieces of bark or grass, and further covered with earth to the depth of a few inches on the outside. A circular house of posts, which held up a roof of poles overlaid with brush, was used at some of the large camps in the summer time as a dance house and meeting place. It shaded the people from the sun. The sides were generally open all round. The Flathead and Pend d'Oreilles still use them in Fourth of July celebrations, when great dances are held. These summer dance houses were similar to the dance houses of tribes east of the Flathead, on the plains.

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Sweat houses were of the same form as those of the Coeur d'Alêne. Scaffolds of poles were used at all permanent camps for storage purposes, and caches in or above the ground were also in use.

343 171*

HOUSEHOLD UTENSILS.—These consisted of baskets, bags, etc. Boiling was done with hot stones, and most kettles were of coiled basketry. Temporary kettles were made of cedar bark by the Pend d'Oreilles, Kalispel, and occasionally by the Flathead. The last-named tribe also used holes lined with rawhide for boiling food. Paunches were used as temporary kettles by all the tribes, and it is said also by the Kutenai. The Upper Kutenai are said to have used some bark kettles and holes in the ground plastered with clay. The latter appear to have been used occasionally by the Pend d'Oreilles, and possibly by other neighboring Salish tribes.

415 171*

Coiled baskets were used as receptacles for water, and bark baskets were employed for the same purpose by the Kalispel and Pend

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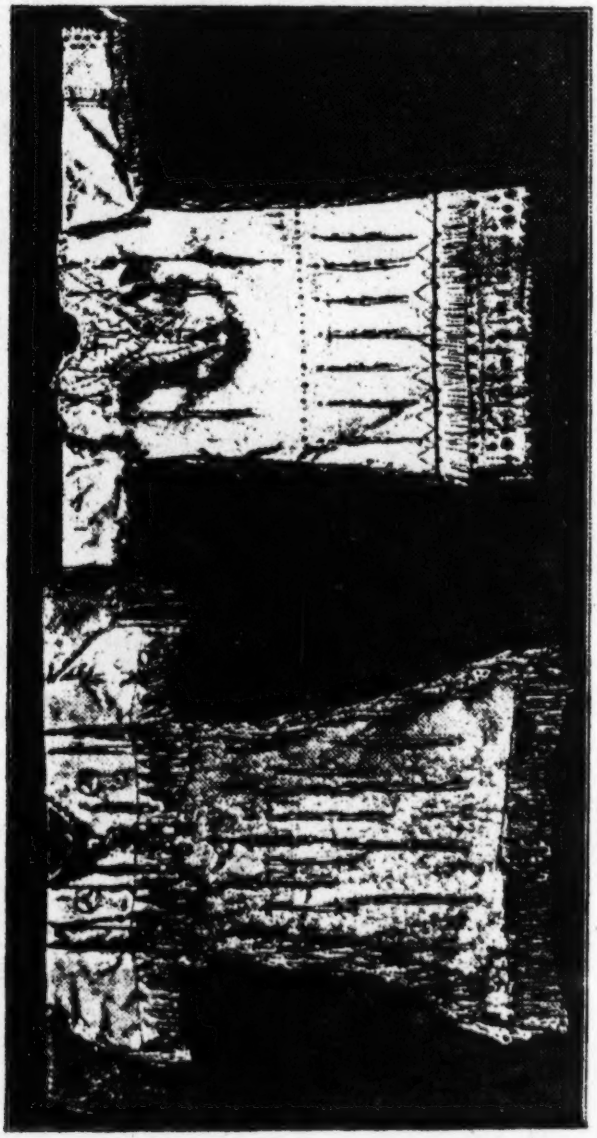

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DRESSES
Interior Salish.

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Spokan

d'Oreilles. Mortars and pestles were used. Spoons and ladles were of mountain-sheep horn, and buffalo horn was also used. Some wooden and bark spoons were used by the Kalispel and Pend d'Oreilles. Skullcap spoons were in vogue. Cups and bowls were made of knots of wood and of bark. Probably some basketry bowls were used. The Flathead especially used shallow dishes and bowls made of sheep's horn. Bark dishes or trays were used by either the Kalispel or Pend d'Oreilles or by both. In most places long ago food was served on mats of rushes. Woven mats were employed to some extent as seats and beds, but buffalo and other skins in the hair were in more common use. Blankets consisted of robes of buffalo, deer, and other animals, dressed in the hair and made very soft. Back rests like those of the Plains tribes were used by the Flathead only, but I can not say to what extent. Fire drills were like those of the Coeur d'Alêne and Thompson.

IV. CLOTHING AND ORNAMENTS

CLOTHING (pls. 3, 4).—People generally went fully clad. Clothing was of the northern Plains type. That of the Flathead differed little, if at all, from that of their immediate neighbors. It was entirely of skins. Robes consisted chiefly of buffalo skins dressed in the hair; but some robes of elk, deer, bear, and other skins were also used. Woven robes were seldom worn, except by the Kalispel, who used woven rabbit-skin robes to some extent. They say that the Blackfoot and Bannock made woven rabbit-skin blankets, the Blackfoot also woven muskrat-skin blankets. See, however, the statement made by Wissler (*c*, p. 53). No clothes woven of sagebrush bark or other vegetal materials were used. Capes and cloaks were not worn, nor rain ponchos. The only overclothes used were robes, large and small. Some skin ponchos were in vogue among the Spokan and Kalispel. Mittens were in common use, but no gloves were worn until after the advent of the whites. Moccasins were of dressed skin of elk, deer, etc., and were of two common types. One kind, probably the most common, had the seam around the outside of the foot.[1] The other kind had a separate sole, and was like the common Blackfoot style of moccasin.[2] A moccasin with short tongue and seam down the front of the foot [3] was in vogue among the Spokan, but seems to have been rare among the other tribes.[4] Pieces of buffalo skin and fur were worn inside of moccasins

[1] *c*, p. 128, pattern No. 9 (p. 147); Thompson, *a*, p. 210, fig. 169.

[2] *c*, pp. 140, 141, figs. 83, 85; the latter said by Wissler to be "almost peculiar to the Ute".

[3] *c*, p. 144, fig. 91; Thompson, *a*, p. 221, figs. 171, 172. (See also Field Mus. Nos. 111860-111863.)

[4] Of 7 pairs of new bead-embroidered Spokan moccasins that I examined, 3 pairs had the seam round the outside of the foot (*c*, p. 128, style No. 8); 2 pairs had separate soles, and were in cut, as far as I remember, similar to those shown in *c*, fig. 85; 2 pairs had separate tongue, and seam down the front of the foot, similar to those shown in *c*, fig. 91. All had gaiters or uppers of a separate piece of skin, but these were rather lower than the average of uppers on Thompson moccasins. All except 1 pair had trailers similar in cut to fig. 172 of Teit's "Thompson Indians." (*a*, p. 211.)

[For Plate 4 of a Flathead dress, see Category 116, opp. p. 335---Analyst]

7:Teit E-5 (1904-1909) 1930 NR19 Southeast Salish NR19
Kalispel
Spokan

opp. p. 335

DRESS
Flathead tribe.

7:Teit E-5 (1904-1909) 1930 NR19 Southeast Salish NR19
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Spokan

in the wintertime. Some winter moccasins were made of skin, the hair side in. For the methods of lacing moccasins among the Spokan see Figure 27.

Belts were of leather, and generally richly ornamented or embroidered.

MEN'S CLOTHING.—Men's costume consisted of a shirt reaching to the hips or a little below, long leggings, belt, breechclout, moccasins, and cap, headband, or feather bonnet. Some leggings had wide uncut flaps, while others had cut fringes along the sides. Long aprons were worn in front, besides the breechclouts. Some breechclouts consisted of a long strip of cloth which passed between the legs and hung down over the belt in front and behind. Garters were much used with leggings. I did not hear of any combination of breechclouts and leggings.

Shirts were of two or three kinds. One kind reached to a little above the knees and had true sleeves. It had a number of seams—one on each side, one underneath each arm, one along the top of the shoulders, and one at each shoulder where the sleeves joined the sides. These, however, may be considered as part of the side seams. All

FIGURE 27.—Moccasins, Spokan

the seams were ornamented with long cut fringes of dressed skin. Sometimes fringes were made of ermine skins. The bottom was cut in a long fringe all round. Shirts of the old style all opened at the neck or shoulders, and not on the breast. A common shirt was the so-called "scalp shirt" or "war shirt." It was fringed with hair (often with scalp locks) instead of skin, and appears to have been exactly the same in cut and ornamentation as the poncho shirts described by Wissler.[5] A scalp shirt which I saw among the Spokan had the leg pieces cut short, and this is said to have been customary with some; otherwise it was almost the same in appearance as the one figured by Wissler.[6] Some shirts of the same type were made without hair fringes, and some were made of light buffalo skin with the hair side in. Probably the latter were really short ponchos, and used only in winter. Long ago no coats, vests, jumpers, trousers, or boots were used. After the coming of the whites all of these gar-

[5] *Id.*, pp. 47, 48, figs. 1, 2.
[6] *Id.*, p. 47, fig. 1.

7:Teit E-5 (1904-1909) 1930 NR19 Southeast Salish NR19
Kalispel
Spokan

291 ments gradually came into use, including blanket capotes. At the
*171 present day skin vests entirely covered with beadwork are very
common.

[178] Fur caps were used in winter. Headbands of various kinds were
[531] in common use, including those made of buffalo hair and horses' tails.

Feather bonnets of several types were used by men of all the tribes
292 from the earliest times. The particular style of bonnet later known
*171 as the "Sioux war-bonnet" was adopted from the Crow. These
bonnets were an article of trade on the plains. Earlier the Salish
[439] had a somewhat similar bonnet; but the so-called "Sioux bonnet"
was considered to be more striking.

291 WOMEN'S CLOTHING.—Women's costume consisted of a long dress
*171 reaching nearly to the ankles, short leggings reaching to the knee,
moccasins, a belt, and cap or headband. The style of woman's dress
that consisted of cape and bodice reaching to the knees or a little
below was not used by any of the Flathead tribes. According to
Revais, "This kind of costume was used at The Dalles, and from there
down to the coast. It was also used along Columbia River by a few
people for some distance above The Dalles, and in some parts to the
west. It was considered a style belonging to the coast and Lower
294 Columbia." Women's dresses were made of two whole deerskins or
*171 small elk skins sewed face to face, heads down. The sides were sewed
up to near the armpits. At the upper ends of the skins the edges
were folded over and sewed down to the body of the garment. There
were no sleeves, the extensions of the shoulders consisting of the hind
legs of the skins falling over the arms almost to the wrists. The side
seams and all the outer edges were fringed. Generally the tailpieces
were cut off and the bottom of the dress was trimmed so that it was
longer at the sides. Usually one or two rows of inserted thongs
depended from the dress near the bottom. Of the dresses described
by Wissler, that shown in his Figure 18[7] appears to be closest to
the common style of the Flathead tribes, both in cut and ornamenta-
tion. In later days some cloth dresses, generally red and blue, were
used instead of skin. They were cut and ornamented in much the
same way as the skin dresses.[8]

291 Women's legging reached up to the knee or a little above, and were
*171 of two or three styles. One kind was fastened on the outside of
the legs with tie strings; while another kind was made for the foot
to pass through, and was held in place by a draw string below the
knee.[9] It seems that women's caps and headbands were of dressed
skin. Woven caps of the Nez Percé type were used to some extent
by women of the Spokan and Kalispel, but not until later years by
the Pend d'Oreilles and Flathead. The women's caps made of skin

[7] [illegible], p. 66.
[8] See Flathead specimen, Field Museum, 111909.
[9] See Flathead specimens, Field Museum, 111782, 111783.

7:Teit E-5 (1904-1909) 1930 NR19 Southeast Salish NR19
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Spokan

were similar in shape to those of the Coeur d'Alêne, Thompson, and other tribes.

ORNAMENTATION AND DESIGNS ON CLOTHING.—Ornamentation of clothing was by fringing, pinking, puncturing, dyeing, painting, and by decorating with burnt work, quillwork, and beadwork. Elk teeth and shells were also used. Almost all the designs were geometric, but a few were floral. In later days floral designs partially supplanted the geometric designs, especially in beadwork. However, most of the designs remain geometric, except perhaps among the Spokan. Many of these designs are the same as those found in bead embroidery of the Blackfoot and other eastern tribes. Some, also, are similar to old designs among Salish tribes farther west. Solid beadwork occurs on many bags, moccasins, vests, belts, etc., and is more common than among the western Salish tribes. White is the common ground color, but blue is not infrequent, and red and yellow also occur. Woven beadwork occurs, but it is not common. and may be of recent introduction. Most of the beadwork is flat, but the style sewed so as to give a ridged effect also occurs. Designs on robes were generally painted, but some burnt work and beadwork and quillwork were also used. Generally bands of beadwork or quillwork followed the seams of clothing. When there were no fringes, bands of embroidery covered the seams. When embroidery was not used, seams were generally painted with red lines. Painting sometimes occurred on clothing in conjunction with beadwork. Bands of beadwork and quillwork on men's shirts were often applied in exactly the same manner as on shirts described by Wissler,[10] the triangular piece of breast ornamentation being very common. Circular ornamentations were also in use. The yoke of women's dresses was generally embroidered with horizontal wavy lines in beadwork or quillwork, and often the whole area was covered with solid beadwork. A row of fringing, often strung with beads or other pendants, generally followed the lower lines of the beaded areas across the dress from one side to the other. Also usually one or two lines of beadwork crossed the dress from side to side near the bottom.[11]

Men's leggings often had bands of beadwork following the side seams, and occasionally cross lines near the bottom.

Women's leggings were sometimes crossed with solid beadwork, and sometimes had designs only on the bottom fronts, or a wide band of beadwork around the bottom.

Men's and women's belts were generally richly beaded, and women's caps more or less so.

Ermine skins were often used for fringes and ornamentation on men's clothes, and they were much used as side fringes to war bonnets. Human and horse hair were also used in ornamentation of clothes.

[10] 4, pp. 47, 48, figs. 1, 2.
[11] See Flathead dress, Field Museum, 111909.

7:Teit E-5 (1904-1909) 1930 NR19 Southeast Salish NR19
Kalispel
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The colors employed in painting clothing were chiefly red, yellow, and black. Some of the painted designs on men's clothing represented

FIGURE 28.—Moccasin trailers

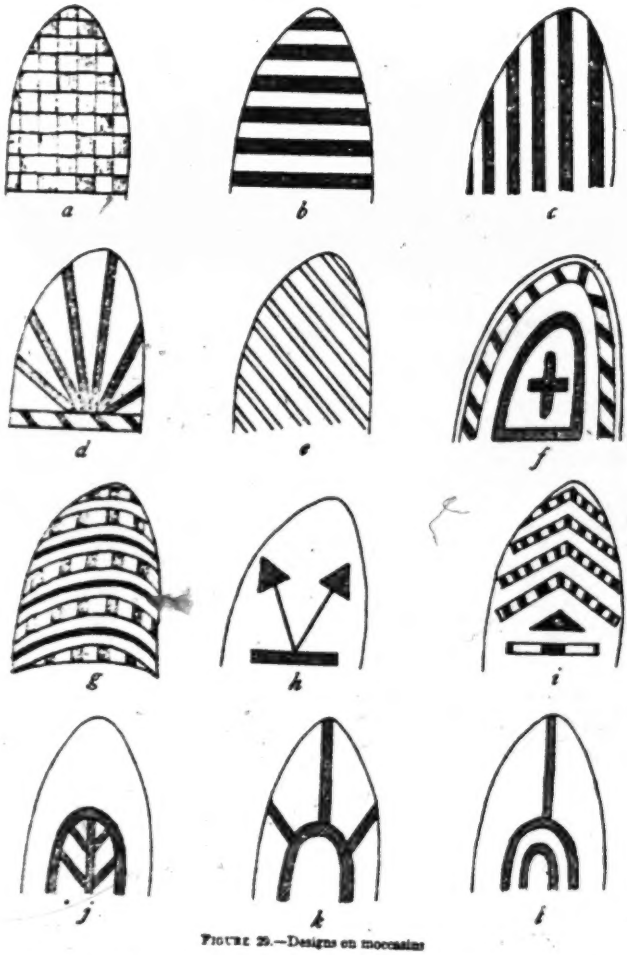

FIGURE 29.—Designs on moccasins

dreams and visions. Some were pictographs connected with the guardian spirit and others incidents of the chase and of war. Some

7:Teit E-5 (1904-1909) 1930 NR19 Southeast Salish NR19
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buffalo robes had broad beaded bands similar to those on robes used by many Plains tribes. Moccasins and shirts were sometimes painted yellow with wolf moss. Moccasin trailers are shown in Figure 28.

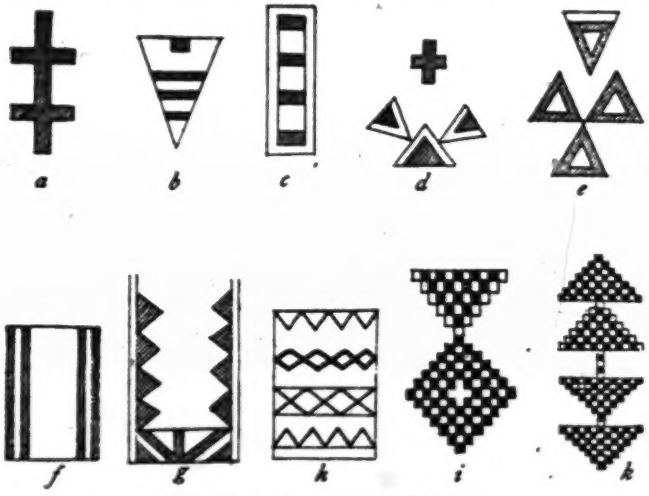

FIGURE 30.—Designs on front of women's leggings

A few of the beaded designs on moccasins, leggings, and dresses[12] that I noted among the Spokan are shown in Figures 29–33.

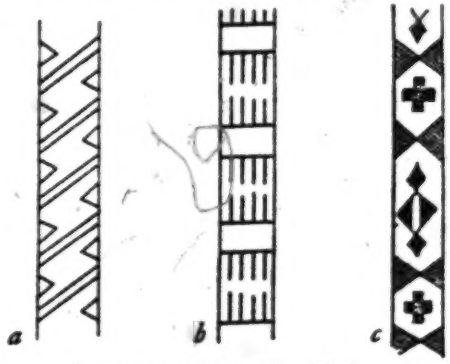

FIGURE 31.—Designs on sides of men's leggings

PERSONAL ADORNMENT.—Ear pendants were common in early times. Large shell pendants were especially common among the Pend d'Oreilles, and to a less extent among the Kalispel. Most of them were fresh-water shells obtained locally.

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[12] See Field Museum, 111690-111698, 111699, 111782, 111783.

7:Teit E-5 (1904-1909) 1930 NR19 Southeast Salish NR19
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Spokan

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them were fresh-water shells obtained locally. No nose ornaments or nose pins were used by the Flathead and Pend d'Oreilles, and they were rare among the Kalispel and Spokan. It is said that they were common among the Nez Percé and all the more western Shahaptian and Salishan tribes. Necklaces were very common and were similar to those used by neighboring tribes both east and west. Face and body painting was universal, the most common colors being red and yellow, but black, white, and blue were also frequently used. A

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[531]

FIGURE 32.—Designs on lower part of men's leggings

famous spot for obtaining red paint in the Flathead country was at *a'pɛl yu'ts_mɛn* ("possessing red paint"), near Helena. The paint was obtained from a large, long cave under a cliff. As the paint rock was at the head of the cave, and it was quite dark inside, a rope was tied to the waist of the man who went in, so that he might readily find his way back. When the head of the cave was reached the searcher felt with his hands and pulled down blocks of the decomposed rock, returning with as much as he could carry. When he came out he divided the paint among the people, who put it into hide

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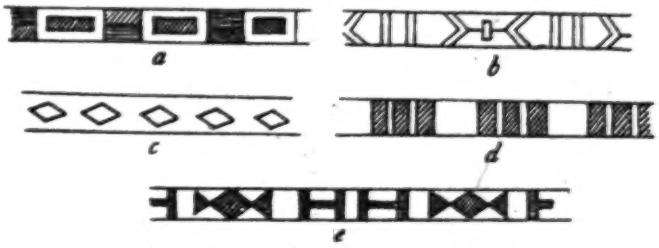

FIGURE 33.—Designs from shoulders of women's dresses

[439] sacks. Long ago the best quality of paint rock from this place was exported by the Helena people to neighboring tribes. After the introduction of horses, parties of Flathead and their allies gathered

[165] paint at this place when passing or hunting near there. It is said

[823] that several men lost their lives or were injured in this cave by rocks falling on them. There was also a belief that this cave could open and shut at will, and that several men had been killed by it. Much

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of the body and face painting of men was symbolic in character and connected with war exploits and guardian spirits. At a recent dance

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of parties of visitors and from about 40 to 50 conical lodges or tents. Great quantities of firewood were collected late in the fall and piled up where the winter camp was to be. The Kalispel claim that long lodges were used by them long ago in the largest winter camps, but were utilized only for dancing. Long lodges were sunk a foot or more in the ground and were covered with mats. Sometimes a lodge like an elongated tent of elliptical ground plan was used in the wintertime. It accommodated from four to six families, according to size. In the summertime the Spokan used some single lean-to shelters of mats at some of the large fishing places. Oblong or long lodges are said to have been used by all the Shahaptian tribes, some Shoshoni, and the Kutenai. I can not say whether these corresponded in construction to Salish types.

CONICAL LODGE OR TENT.—The conical lodge was the common family and living house of all the tribes. It was used by all the people in summer, and by most people also in winter. The three-pole foundation appears to have been generally used. Poles of the black pine (*Pinus contorta*) were preferred. The covering consisted of one or two layers of mats in summer and three or four layers in winter. All the mats were sewed tule mats, similar to those of the Thompson, and they were arranged horizontally and overlapping. These lodges varied in size. Generally two families inhabited each, but some large ones contained three, while many housed only a single family, especially if the family were large. The Flathead name for the conical mat lodge means in the Thompson language "old-style house" or "common old-style house." According to Flathead tradition, previous to the introduction of the horse, mats were used almost entirely as lodge covers. At that time only a few conical lodges, generally small ones, had covers of buffalo, moose, and elk skin. These were not painted. After the introduction of the horse the buffalo-skin tent soon supplanted for all seasons the mat tent among the Flathead and to a large extent among the other tribes as well. It became the only lodge used when traveling and when hunting on the plains. However, it never supplanted entirely the mat lodge among the Spokan and Kalispel, who continued to use some of them when at home. Mat coverings for lodges were not suitable for a horse people, who traveled much. At the present day log cabins are generallly used in the wintertime and canvas tents in the summer and when traveling. Conical lodges with square and oblong tops were not used. Revais said, "They were confined to the Yakima and people along Columbia River north to the Okanagon and Thompson." Skin tents were sometimes painted on the outside with pictures of dreams. The sun, moon, and stars were common figures. Geometric designs also occurred.

BARK LODGE.—Bark lodges were used long ago among the Pend d'Oreilles and Kalispel, but not among the Flathead and seldom among the Spokan. They were erected in spring and summer at

7:Teit E-5 (1904-1909) 1930 NR19 Southeast Salish NR19
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4. *Stsemx.ze.xemxē'* ("Standing Grizzly-Bear"), no relative of the preceding chiefs. He was more than half Pend d'Oreilles and Kalispel in blood. He was head chief when Michel Revais's father was young and he died the year the first priest came (around 1839).

5. (Victor) *Skeikei'sēlitsi'* or *Sxwoixweilxelkci* ("Plenty-of-Horses," from *xwoixweil*, "plenty"; *sēlitsi'* or *selkci*, "horse"), no relation, or only very distantly related, to any of the preceding. Said to have been partly of *Tunā'ɣe* descent, and his name of Salish-*Tunā'ɣe* origin. He made the treaty with Governor Stevens in 1855.

6. (Charles [or Carlos]) *Ēmxē'xe* or *stsemxēxe'* ("Small Grizzly-Bear Claw"), son of No. 5. He was living in 1909, aged 79 years.

There is some confusion regarding Nos. 2 and 3. Revais said he thought Big-Eagle and Big-Hawk were different names for the same man. Some say that Big-Hawk succeeded Three-Eagles, while others say that there was a chief between them. *Ārli'* was subchief of the Flathead when the tribe made a treaty with Governor Stevens in 1855.

The same informants gave the Pend d'Oreilles head chiefs as follows:

1. (Alexander) *Tx'wsēlxēqēlitse'* or *tsemsēlxēq.tse'* ("No-Horses"; from *tsemsl*, negative "without"; *kēqēlitse'* or *sēq.tse'*, "horse"), said to have been partly of *Tunā'ɣe* descent, and his name from the Salish-*Tunā'ɣe* language. He died a very old man about 1868 and is said to have had 400 horses. He was the Pend d'Oreilles chief who made a treaty with Governor Stevens. Chief Alexander had an elder brother called *Tcenko'e'hwe'* ("Man-who-walks-alone"). He was a prominent man in his time. He and Alexander were first cousins to Michel Revais's father. Chief Alexander had a daughter who married Chief Louison. She was second cousin to Michel Revais.

2. (Michel) *Hwihēsēlitet* ("Plenty-of-Grizzly-Bear": from *hwihwisl*, "plenty"; *ēlitē'* or *sēlitē'*, "grizzly bear"), no relative to No. 1. He was a small chief of the tribe when his predecessor died and was elected head chief after two others—André and Pierre (or Peter)—had refused. He was probably partly of *Tunā'ɣe* descent, as his name is from the Salish-*Tunā'ɣe* language. He died about 1890.

3. (John Peter) *Nēē'lqen* or *Nēē'riqen* (meaning uncertain, but an old hereditary name with suffix *-qen* "head"), son of No. 2. Chief in 1909, aged about 45 years.

The subchief of the Pend d'Oreilles when treaty was made with the Government in 1855 was *Nkultex.t'* or *Nkotilx.t'* ("Big-Canoe").

I obtained the following list of Kalispel head chiefs, but possibly they were chiefs only of the Lower Kalispel.

1. *Nt'wards* (meaning uncertain), chief before the whites came.

2. Nicolas (?) *Ku'lkuls hsimi'* or *Kulkuls qesi'm* ("Red-Eagle"), said to have been a son of No. 1. He died about 1835.

3. *Etsui'sesem.ɣē'* ("Standing-Bear").

4. Victor *Ntsaka'lia'*. (meaning uncertain) or *Arla'meqen* (meaning uncertain, but an old hereditary name with suffix *-qen* "head"), died an old man. He was chief at the time of the war between the whites and the Spokan, and had a document given to him in 1859 by the chief of the military, recognizing him as a friendly chief.

5. Marcellin *Tcaqe'qsi* (meaning doubtful), chief of the Lower Kalispel in 1909, and aged about 70.

7:Teit E-5 (1904-1909) 1930 NR19 Southeast Salish NR19
Kalispel
Spokan

near Jocko, Chief Moise appeared with his lower legs painted yellow, because the war exploit he was about to relate occurred on the Yellowstone River.

Tattoo marks were also in large measure symbolic. Like painting, tattooing was done by both sexes. However, it was not very common. Wrists and forearms were the chief parts tattooed, but some men had tattoo marks on the legs and body as well. The Kalispel and Spokan are said to have tattooed much more than the Pend d'Oreilles and Flathead. It seems that there was no face tattooing, or that it was exceedingly rare. The Assiniboin are said to be the only eastern tribe that tattooed much. A number of them tattooed the face; and many had tattoo marks on the body, arms, and legs.

I did not learn much of hairdressing, except that the styles are said to have been the same as among the neighboring tribes. At the present day a great many of the men wear their hair in two cues, one on each side. This is said to have been an old as well as a modern style. Formerly some men wore a forelock. Evidently there were a number of different styles of dressing the hair. Women generally wore their hair in two braids tied at the back. Men often attached ornaments and strips of fur to the braids of the hair. The hair was never cut and roached. The headdress of porcupine and deer's hair, in imitation of the headdress of the Osage, now often worn by young men in dances, is of modern introduction. Some men wore long headdresses of human hair woven together, the tresses being joined with gum. I do not know if this style is old or not. The beard was pulled out with tweezers. Pubic and other body hair was not removed.

V. SUBSISTENCE

ROOTS AND BERRIES.—The country occupied by the Flathead tribes is rich in all kinds of food. Roots and berries are abundant, and were used extensively. The Flathead paid less attention to these than the other tribes of the group. Camas and bitterroot were highly valued, and in several places large quantities were dug. The two most famous camas grounds were at Big Camas, or Camas Prairie, about 15 miles above Missoula, Mont., where many Pend d'Oreilles, *Semtē'use*, and Flathead gathered for digging; and Camas Prairie near Calispell Lake, Wash., where Kalispel, Spokan, and Colville gathered. It is said that the Flathead were promised Camas Prairie as a camas reserve by the Government, but did not get it. Besides these places, there were many fine camas grounds in other parts of the tribal habitat. The territory of the Kalispel especially was noted for richness in camas. On the present Flathead reserve there were two much-used camas grounds at Camas Prairie and Crow Creek belonging to the Pend d'Oreilles.

7:Teit E-5 (1904-1909) 1930 NR19 Southeast Salish NR19
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Spokan

415 285 198 *171 [222] [412] Root diggers were of the same kind as among the Coeur d'Alêne. Handles were of wood, horn, and antler. At one time baskets were generally used in the gathering of roots; but as basketry gradually went out of use, woven and hide bags, large ones of the Nez Percé type, and some of soft skin and rawhide, took their place. Baskets were gradually abandoned after the introduction of the horse, owing to the increased amount of traveling and the preeminence given to buffalo hunting. They were too rigid and bulky for constant horse travel, and, besides, the women who traveled long distances on buffalo hunts had no time to make them, and often found themselves in districts where basket materials could not be obtained. Each generation saw fewer baskets made, and with the coming of the whites they were no longer required as kettles. In large measure they also lost their value as articles of trade.

222 198 *171 [415] [407] Bark baskets were used extensively in gathering berries. For gathering huckleberries in the higher mountains the Kalispel used conical cedar-bark baskets. At the present day they often dispense with root diggers and use plows instead. A few long furrows are plowed across the camas meadows; the women follow and gather the upturned roots. A large quantity of roots is thus gathered in a short time.

251 *171 The methods of curing berries and curing and cooking roots appear to have been much the same as among the Coeur d'Alêne and other Salishan tribes. There may have been some differences between the Spokan in the extreme west and the Flathead in the extreme east. The Spokan used circular pits for the storage of dried fish, roots, berries, and even meat. These were opened and aired from time to time.

221 The following is told of the seasonal occupations of the Spokan. The majority of people of most bands scattered over the tribal territory, and even over that of neighbors, for eight or nine months of the year, gathering roots and berries, hunting, fishing, visiting, and trading. The rest of the year was spent in winter camps. Then they lived on the food which had been secured and hunted occasionally on the near-by hunting grounds. In some places they also fished. This was the season of social entertainments and dancing and also of manufacturing. Many of the women made most of their mats, baskets, bags, and clothes at this season, the materials having been gathered previously.

Generally speaking, the people occupied themselves chiefly as follows during the year: In the springtime, digging certain roots, hunting and fishing on the nearer grounds; in early summer, fishing for trout and salmon, hunting, and root digging; in midsummer, root digging and berrying, only a little hunting; in late summer, salmon fishing and berrying, very little hunting or root digging; in early fall (about September), the same occupations as in late summer; in

7:Teit E-5 (1904-1909) 1930 NR19 Southeast Salish NR19
Kalispel
Spokan

late fall (October and November), root digging and hunting in the early part, and finally only hunting. In December they went into their winter camps and left them in March. Trading parties to The Dalles and other places left in August and returned for the late fall hunting. They dug roots and hunted, if convenient, on the way going and coming, but chiefly on the way back. Buffalo hunting parties also left in August. Some came back late in the fall, about November, and some did not return until spring. 221

The following is a list of the principal roots and berries gathered by the Spokan: 222 824

ROOTS

1. *A'thwa, ê'tzwa* (*Camassia esculenta*).
2. *Spa'tlɛm* (*Lewisia rediviva*).
3. *Pa'iwa* (unidentified [see Coeur d'Alêne, p. 89, No. 3]).
4. *Pô'xpux* (unidentified [see Coeur d'Alêne, p. 89, No. 4]).
5. *Tu'xwa* (unidentified [see Coeur d'Alêne, p. 89, No. 5]).
6. *Sā'tc* (*Allium* sp.).
7. *Kola'wal* (*Allium* sp.).
8. *Stlōkōm* (unidentified).
9. *Mɛsā'we* (unidentified).
10. *Skwɛnkwē'nɛm* (*Claytonia* sp).
11. *Sɛsī'lɛm* (unidentified).
12. *Tsā'wax* (*Fritillaria pudica* [?]).
13. *Siai'ɛkɛn* (unidentified).
14. *Sqa'kɛrtsɛn* (unidentified).
15. *Molā'ɛpa* (*Cnicus undulatus* [?]).
16. *To'qwa* (*Balsamorrhiza* sp.).

BERRIES

1. *Slā'k* (*Amelanchier* sp.).
2. *Łô'zlôz* (*Prunus demissa* Walp.).
3. *Tsêkwī'kᵘ* (*Sambucus* sp.).
4. *Stsa'ts.tz* (*Cornus pubescens* Nutt.).
5. *Shwa'natc* (*Crataegus* sp.).
6. *Nwa'wesīls* (*Rubus* sp. [raspberry]).
7. *Pô'lpolqɛn* (*Rubus* sp. [thimbleberry?]).
8. *Ta'ltaltlaox*[1] (*Rubus* sp. [trailing blackberry?]).
9. *Sqweikwai'qɛn* ("black head," *Rubus leucodermis* Dougl.).
10. *Nta'tɛmelps* (*Ribes* sp. [red gooseberry]).
11. *Yā'rtca* (*Ribes* sp. [black gooseberry]).
12. *Tsā'ls*[2] (*Ribes* sp. [currant]).
13. *Shō'sɛm* (*Shepherdia canadensis* Nutt.).
14. *Qei'tqɛm, kei'tkɛm* (*Fragaria californica*).
15. *Stɛscā'lk* (*Vaccinium membranaceum*).
16. *Npokpeka'ɛɛn* (*Vaccinium* sp.).
17. *Sisī'pt* (*Vaccinium* sp. [small blueberry]).
18. *Sqo'eyu* (*Berberis* sp.).
19. *Skole's* (*Arctostaphylos uva-ursi*).
20. *Shoie'pak* (*Rosa* sp.).
21. *Tɛptɛptai'ɛlp* ("black" or "dark," very seldom eaten; unidentified).

Sɛlɛzwai'lɛpkan (the snowberry) was not eaten.

[1] Compare Thompson name of this berry.
[2] Compare Thompson name for Oregon grape, *Berberis* sp.

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SOME OTHER VEGETAL FOODS

222 *Qa'puxa* (hazelnuts).
824 *Swi'sttc* (nutlets of *Pinus albicaulis*).
Stretsi'tca (nutlets of *Pinus ponderosa*).
Me'tcto (seeds of *Balsamorrhiza*).
Stsa'xwe (cambium of *Pinus ponderosa*).
Sxnamoxstci'nxm (cambium of *Pinus contorta* or of poplar [used a little]).
Hoxta'lp (stalks of *Heracleum lanatum*).
Skola'pkxn (*Alectoria jubata* L.).
Shwi'xna (*Opuntia* sp.).

412 Rib-bone knives and animals' shoulder blades were used as sap scrapers.

241 *171 AGRICULTURE.—According to some informants, tobacco was raised long ago in some places by the Pend d'Oreilles, Flathead, and probably by the other tribes also. The Spokan are said to have grown wheat as early as 1835.[3]

411 *171 HUNTING. *Weapons of the chase.*—The double-curved bow was the only kind used by all the Flathead tribes. The only neighboring people who used wide flat bows exclusively, or almost exclusively, were the Lower Kutenai and Coeur d'Alêne. For this reason the former were called "Flat Bow" ("Arc platte") by the fur traders and the latter "Wide Bows" or "Flat Bows" in the sign language. All the best bows were made of syringa wood and were sinew backed. The Spokan and many men of all the tribes covered their bows with bull-snake skin. Horn bows were used by all the tribes, and especially by the Flathead. Some were made of a single piece and others were joined of two, rarely of three, pieces. Arrows were similar to those of other Salishan tribes.

[237] [231] Long ago rattlesnake poison was sometimes used on arrowheads. No beaver spears were used. Lances were occasionally employed in killing game. Dogs were used in some ways of hunting.

224 *171 *Hunting before and after the introduction of the horse.*—I obtained the following information from Michel Revais and others regarding the methods of hunting. Long ago the Flathead country was one of the very best countries for game and all kinds of food. On the Great plains, where buffaloes migrated in great herds, little other game was found. In the Flathead country, buffalo were always present, and at times, when they became scarcer than usual, plenty of other game could be procured. On the other hand, in large portions of the plains to the east, when the buffalo left, there was very little other game to be obtained; in many places, at least, not sufficient to feed a large company of people. For this reason, before the advent

[3] E. E. Dye states that the Spokan were growing wheat in 1838, grinding it at the Hudson Bay Co.'s mill at Fort Colville, traveling a distance of 70 miles. (McLoughlin and Old Oregon.)

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of the horse, portions of the great open plains were seldom visited. When the buffalo deserted a part of the plains they sometimes traveled long distances and were hard to follow and overtake on foot. People who attempted to live in these places would have to follow the buffalo or starve, and they could not easily travel great distances carrying their children, old people, and baggage. Even dogs with travois could not help them a great deal, for the dogs would require to be fed meat constantly. Prairie fires were also dangerous and often drove game away. Besides this, in those days without horses the common game of the open plains (buffalo and antelope) could not be hunted as successfully as in a more or less broken country. Thus long ago people made their headquarters in diversified country, more or less hilly and wooded, where good shelter, firewood, poles, and water were abundant, and where there was a variety of game and fish, where many kinds of roots and berries were growing, and where materials for manufactures were at hand. As the places having the best conditions were in the more or less hilly and partly wooded country in proximity to the Rocky Mountains, most bands made their headquarters in the country of the foothills. Some bands who lived farther east had their headquarters within valleys in local or isolated ranges of hills. In some cases there were considerable distances between bands, while other bands were comparatively close to one another. In all cases there was a sufficient area of hunting country intervening to allow of good hunting for all. As a rule, people hunted the country halfway over to the next band. Traveling over long distances occurred, but usually not for collecting food supplies but for visiting, trading, or on the warpath. They traveled light and lived on the game of the country as they went along, leaving all surplus meat that they could not carry. Long ago buffalo were not considered much more valuable for meat and skins than some other kinds of large game, such as elk, for instance.

Buffalo were plentiful in the Flathead country and in the country of the Salish-*Tuna'xe*. Elk, antelope, and deer of two or three kinds were also plentiful; moose and mountain sheep abounded in many places. Goats occurred, but they were seldom hunted owing to the abundance of other game easier to obtain and considered much more valuable. Besides large game, small game and game birds were abundant, also roots, berries, fish, and shellfish. The Pend d'Oreilles used shellfish, but it must have been a matter of choice with them, and not necessity, for their country was almost as well stocked with game as that of the Flathead. Buffalo were less abundant, but other kinds of game were probably equally as plentiful as in the Flathead country, if not more so. Besides, at one time caribou abounded in many places north of Pend Oreille River, and both the Pend d'Oreilles

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136 and Kalispel hunted them. All the game common to the Pend d'Oreille country was also found in the Kalispel country, with the exception of buffalo, which penetrated there only occasionally. The Spokan had no caribou, moose, and buffalo in their country, but great numbers of elk, deer, and antelope. Bears were at one time 224 numerous. After the introduction of horses, buffalo hunting, transportation, and traveling long distances became easy. Hunting of 198 other game lost in importance. It was now possible to load great *191 pack trains with meat and skins, and to put up supplies at any place. Great bands of people could travel together. In fact, the larger the parties, the easier the buffalo hunting. Buffalo hides and robes became considerable articles of trade with the more western tribes, who did not go buffalo hunting. For these reasons the old style of life was being given up and the people became almost exclusively buffalo hunters, as this was the easiest way of making a living. Whatever was unsuited to the new mode of life was discarded. Thus the mat tent went out of use and was replaced by the skin tent. Rawhide bags came more and more into use; parfléches were universally used as packing cases. A few baskets and mat lodges continued to be used at the main winter camps and in the most western parts of the [222] country. Fishing, digging of roots, and gathering of berries became of less importance, because these industries could not always be prosecuted when buffalo hunting. Good berrying and root-digging grounds were not usually places best suited for buffalo hunting, and people often found themselves far away at the proper season for berrying and root digging. Thus there arose a tendency to neglect these sources of food supply, as well as the hunting of other game. A certain amount of roots and berries was gathered and cured by old people, who did not go with the regular buffalo-hunting parties. 000 The Flathead believe that the Crow and other tribes were affected by the introduction of the horse in much the same manner as themselves, and gave up their old manner of living to be buffalo hunters on the plains. Revais and others believed that the Crow and all other eastern tribes, before the introduction of the horse, must have lived a semisedentary life, somewhat similar to the old life of the Flathead, and that they must have had headquarters in some semiforested country to the east. They could not have lived continually out on the open plains as buffalo hunters before they had horses. The Flathead did not make the changes necessary to their life of mounted buffalo hunters by copying from the eastern or Plains tribes; for at the time (say, about 1600) they were not in contact with the Plains tribes. Besides, it is known that at least the Blackfoot and the Assiniboin obtained horses at a date much later than the Flathead; and it is believed that all the eastern tribes, such as the Crow, Sioux, and Arapaho, obtained their first horses also at a date later than the Flat-

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head and neighboring Shoshoni. It is believed that all tribes, both east and west of the Rocky Mountains, secured their first horses directly or indirectly from or through Shoshoni bands of the western plains; and it is believed that the Kutenai and Blackfoot copied the horse equipment from the Flathead and Shoshoni. This leaves only the Shoshoni, the first to have horses, from whom the Flathead might have copied.

In later years, when there came to be much contact between many tribes on the western plains, the Flathead were influenced by contact with eastern tribes, and also the latter by contact with western tribes.

It is claimed that owing to the abundance of game in the Flathead country before the introduction of the horse, a sufficiency of meat could be obtained by ordinary methods of hunting, such as the still hunt and the surround. Therefore there was no need for the employment of nets, corrals, and pounds for catching game, and these were not used. The Blackfoot, and some other tribes to the north and west, were known to employ some or all of these methods; but it is thought this must have been because game was scarcer in their countries, or harder to hunt. Even snares and deadfalls were very little used in capturing game. Deer fences and deer snares like those of the Thompson were not used. Driving or stampeding elk and buffalo over precipices, and possibly some other methods of driving, were in vogue; but it is not certain that these methods were also used before the advent of the horse.

Before horses were in use, buffaloes were surrounded in small numbers and shot; or the hunter crawled up to stragglers on the edges of the larger herds and shot them. Some were also killed from ambushes at watering places, and occasionally they were caught on slippery ice and when swimming rivers. Disguises were often used in approaching buffalo and other game.

When buffalo hunting was conducted on horseback the common method was for a party of mounted men to charge the herd in a line or in a half circle at a given signal, stampeding the animals, and following them up, shooting and stabbing them. In the later days of buffalo hunting, Salishan parties sometimes hunted within the boundaries of the Blackfoot, Gros Ventres, and Assiniboin tribes. When wars with the Blackfoot ceased, Kutenai and Pend d'Oreilles parties often went to the north, crossing the present Blackfoot Reserve in Montana, sometimes passing Blackfoot parties in that part of the country, and hunted beyond them to the east and north, frequently crossing the Canadian line. It is uncertain how far Salishan parties went beyond their tribal boundaries to the east along the Missouri and Yellowstone, but it seems that the Lower Musselshell and Big Horn were about their limits, and they rarely or

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never went east of the mouths of these streams. To the south they went not infrequently as far as Wind River, Sweetwater and Green Rivers; but this was generally on visits to the Shoshoni, although they hunted all the way, going and returning.

In several parts of the Spokan country where there were extensive prairies the Indians surrounded game every fall. Elk, deer, and antelope were killed in this way. A large body of people, including many women and children, made a huge circle, and moved day by day toward a common center. At night they camped in the circle. Thus they moved toward one point a few miles every day. As the circle shortened there became less chance of game getting out and the camps came to be closer together. Any game seen near the edge of the circle, was, if possible, scared in by riders. Many mounted men rode to and fro between the camping parties in the circle, while others, chiefly women, advanced on horseback and on foot, carrying the baggage. In weak parts of the ring fires were lighted, especially at night, and sticks with burnt skin attached were erected here and there. At last, after a few days, or a week or two, according to the size of the ground surrounded, a large number of game animals congregated in the center. Places where game was most liable to break through were then guarded by women and children to scare them back, or sometimes by men in ambush to shoot. Then all the most active mounted men attacked the animals and killed many with arrows and spears. Those that broke away were chased and shot at as they fled. This method of hunting was practiced both before and after the introduction of horses, and it fell into disuse only after the introduction of firearms, when there came to be danger of shooting one another.

Sometimes, instead of a surround, driving was arranged on a great scale, the animals being driven over cliffs, where they were killed by the fall, or into coulées and defiles, where men lay in wait to shoot them. Sometimes drives were made in coulées with steep sides, the animals being driven from one end to the other, where they were met by hunters waiting for them, and between the two parties were nearly all killed.

FISHING.—Fishing was of much less importance to the Flathead tribes than hunting, with the exception possibly of the Spokan. Several kinds of small fish were plentiful in the rivers, creeks, and lakes. No doubt in early times, when the people were more sedentary, fishing was engaged in to a considerable extent by certain bands of the Kalispel and Pend d'Oreilles, especially by the people living around Flathead Lake. It is said that long ago some of the Kalispel spent most of the fair season around Pend Oreille, Priest, and other lakes, hunting, fishing, and gathering roots and berries in the near-by mountains. When winter approached they returned to their regular

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winter camping places on the main river, where the snowfall was lighter and the climate milder. 221

Hooks and lines were used in fishing; but nets were little employed except perhaps on Flathead Lake and at a few other points. However, large nets were used a great deal at the mouth of the Little Spokane for catching various kinds of fish. They were stretched completely across the river, one net being set some distance upstream above the other. Dip nets were seldom or never used. According to Revais, "The dip net for catching salmon on rivers was much used along Columbia River, from the Thompson and Shuswap down to the mouth of the Wallawalla, and to near The Dalles, but it was little used by the tribes to the east of the Columbia. The Nez Percé and Wallawalla used them for catching salmon, but the Spokan did not use them." 227 171*

In many places weirs and traps were employed. Traps were of two or three kinds, similar to the common fish traps of the Thompson.

Two kinds of spears were in use—the single-pointed gig, for spearing fish from the shore, and the three-pronged spear, for spearing from canoes and ice. No salmon were found in the countries of the Pend d'Oreilles, *Sxmtē'use*, and Flathead, and in only one small piece of the territory of the Kalispel. The Spokan, however, had some good salmon fisheries along Spokane River. Salmon did not run in the Pend Oreille River. In the salmon season, some Kalispel went down the river to near the canyon (probably Box Canyon), then across country to the head of Salmon River in British Columbia, which was the northeast corner of their tribal territory, and there fished salmon. The salmon at this place were generally spent and poor, and in some years there were not many. A few Kalispel joined the friendly Lake and Colville at their great salmon fishery about Kettle Falls; but most of the tribe procured dried salmon in trade from the Colville and Spokan, probably chiefly from the former. Some of the Flathead obtained dried salmon from the Lemhi Shoshoni. The Pend d'Oreilles, *Sxmtē'use*, and Salish-*Tuna'xe* had no chance to fish salmon with neighbors, and were seldom able to obtain much in trade. [411] [136] [438]

VI. TRAVEL, TRANSPORTATION, AND TRADE

CANOES.—The Kalispel and Pend d'Oreilles were noted as canoe people. They had an abundance of good bark in their countries and made many bark canoes. White-pine bark was chiefly used. Ribs were generally made of cedar and black-pine roots were used for sewing. The canoes were swift and light, and were of the same general shape and construction as the bark canoes of many other Salishan tribes and of the Kutenai. They differed, however, in having the bark at their ends cut off square and sewed together, instead of having 501 [171]*

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501 [177] [363]

long, sharp, rounded, snoutlike ends, like the canoes of all other tribes. This type, with cut-off "snouts" or shortened ends (fig. 34), was peculiar to the Kalispel and Pend d'Oreilles, and may have been adopted under the influence of the eastern bark canoe since the advent of the traders; for it is stated that Iroquois who settled among the Pend d'Oreilles, and others in the employment of the fur traders, sometimes made bark canoes of the eastern or Iroquois shape on Flathead Lake. However, I was unable to make sure of this point. As the "sturgeon-nose" (or snout-ended) canoe is the only type used by neighboring tribes, and is widely distributed over a large area, it would seem to be the older type of the two. The other tribes—the Spokan, *Sxmtē'use*, Salish-*Tunā'xe*, and Flathead—are said to have had no canoes long ago, only rafts of poles. It seems that tule rafts were used to a slight extent by the Spokan, and possibly by the others, but I was unable to make certain of this. In later times, probably with the introduction of the first iron, the Spokan began to make dugout canoes of poplar and other logs, while the Flathead adopted the bull boat of the plains area.

501 *171

[178] [177]

FIGURE 34.—Types of canoe bow
a, Sturgeon-nose type. b, Kalispel type.

231 *171

Dogs.—Dogs were common to all the tribes. In color they were gray, yellow, and black of various shades, generally lighter underneath and in front, like coyotes and wolves. Some were somewhat mixed in color, such as yellow and white or brown and white. They were haired like coyotes and wolves, and resembled them in appearance and shape. None of them had curly, soft fur, and none had long or floppy ears. Most of them were of large size, but some were rather small. The dogs of the Flathead group appear to have been of the same breed as those of the Thompson and other tribes of the plateau and neighboring plains. The hair and skins of dogs were not made use of, nor was their flesh eaten. They were at one time used for hunting purposes, but to what extent is not clear.

[262] [237] 000

HORSES.—The Flathead claim to have obtained horses first about 1600 or a little later from some Shoshoni tribe, who, according to them, were the earliest people to have had horses. All horses came first from the south and southeast, and spread north and northwest.

The Salish-*Tunā'xe* procured their first horses from the Shoshoni at about the same time as the Flathead obtained theirs, but for some reason they had more horses at an early date than the Flathead. Horses increased in numbers rather rapidly for some years after their

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first introduction, as there was little or no horse stealing, and horse flesh was seldom eaten, owing to the great abundance of buffalo and other large game. After horses had become plentiful Blackfoot and eastern tribes began to appear in the region bordering the Flathead, and then horse raiding became common, and continued until the last days of the buffalo hunting. 000

I obtained the following information from Revais and others concerning the introduction of horses into other tribes. "The Pend d'Oreilles and *Sɛmtē'use* obtained their first horses from the Flathead; and the Kalispel from the Pend d'Oreilles. The Coeur d'Alêne got theirs first from the Kalispel and Pend d'Oreilles; and the Spokan, according to some, theirs also from the Kalispel. The Colville almost certainly obtained their first horses also from the Kalispel." It seems, however, that horses spread simultaneously on both sides of the Rocky Mountains from the Shoshoni, and reached the Moses Columbia tribe only a little later than they reached the Pend d'Oreilles. Thus it is said that most of the Columbia tribes had horses before the Kutenai and Blackfoot. The Cayuse had a large number earlier than any other tribes near the Columbia. It seems that they received them directly from the Shoshoni. The Nez Percé are said to have obtained most of their first horses from the Cayuse and the Shoshoni. From the Cayuse, horses spread rapidly among the Shahaptian and Salishan tribes of Columbia River, and from there north. At the same time horses were reaching the Columbia from the east by way of Pend Oreille River. Horses spread among the Shoshoni from south to north, and it is supposed that they came originally from Mexico. The Shoshoni east of the Salish-*Tunā'ɣe* and Flathead may have had horses at even an earlier date than they. The Kutenai west of the mountains are said to have obtained their first horses from the Pend d'Oreilles; and those east of the mountains from the Salish-*Tunā'ɣe* and possibly also from the Shoshoni. Some think that the Blackfoot obtained their first horses in trade from the Salish-*Tunā'ɣe*, Flathead, and Shoshoni. Others claim that the Blackfoot procured all their first horses by stealing from the Shoshoni and Flathead. It seems that the Kutenai and Blackfoot were slower in adapting themselves to horses than some other tribes, and did not use them extensively for some time after their introduction. The Crow are said to have obtained horses from the Shoshoni and Flathead by stealing, and may have taken their first horses from the former. The Sioux are said to have received horses at a later date than the Crow and Blackfoot; and the Gros Ventres probably a little earlier than the Blackfoot. The Assiniboin and Cree obtained horses later than the Crow and Blackfoot. 231 171* 177 000

The following story is told of the first horse seen by the Lower Kalispel. The first horse that reached the Lower Kalispel country was ridden by an Indian (some say a half-breed) who came from the 231 173

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231 Flathead country by way of the Pend d'Oreilles. Some people saw
173 the horse's tracks where it had passed over some sand. They called other people, and discussed what kind of animal had made the tracks, which were strange to them all. Some thought it might have been a horse, as they had heard about them. Other people lower down, near the river bank, saw the man approach on the horse at a lope. They observed that he was smoking, and that he seemed to be quite at his ease. They watched him enter the river and swim across on the horse. They gathered around and examined the animal with much curiosity. The Kalispel and Colville always called horses by the common term for dogs when they were first introduced. Later they adopted the name common to nearly all the Salish tribes for "horse," which is related to a common word for "dog."

492 TRANSPORTATION AND HORSE EQUIPMENT.—Before the advent of
*171 the horse overland transportation was entirely on people's backs. Tump straps of skin, generally passed over the head, were used for
482 carrying loads. It is said that dogs were never employed as draught animals in sleds, toboggans, or travois. The majority of informants declared that dogs were never used for packing or hauling. One or two informants said dogs were occassionally and in some places used for carrying loads, but whether this was in very remote times or just previous to the introduction of the horse is quite uncertain. No toboggans were used, except that sometimes an animal's meat was lashed inside the skin and hauled by hand downhill over the snow, as among the Thompson. Some soft skin and rawhide bags and some baskets were used in the transportation of goods.

492 Horses were at once adopted for riding and packing. The common
*171 method of packing horses appears to have been with light packsaddles of wood, over which rawhide was shrunk. Two parfêches, filled so as to be about equal in weight and bulk, were suspended by loops over the "horns" or crosspieces of the saddle, one on each side, and secured by ropes passing over the load and underneath the horse. Sometimes some light flat or flexible material was placed crosswise on the top of the saddle and parfêches and secured by the same rope.
[177] All the horse equipment of packsaddles, riding saddles, cinches, ropes, bridles, whips; and methods of riding, packing, and horse management appear to have been received and adopted along with the horse from the Shoshoni, and were passed on from the Flathead to all the other Salishan tribes to the west and north. Certain kinds of riding saddles were also sometimes used as packsaddles. Most men's saddles were of the "pad" type [1] similar to those of the Thompson, Shoshoni, and surrounding tribes. Usually the four corners of
[531] the saddle were covered with solid quill or bead work, or otherwise ornamented. Other saddles were also of the same types as those

[1] J, p. 12, fig. 8.

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used by the Thompson and neighboring tribes. Two kinds, chiefly used by men, in some tribes also by women, were somewhat like pack saddles, having wooden sides and "horns" of antler or wood.

Horns were of two kinds—the forked and the curved or bow type. They were the same as specimens described by Wissler.[2] Saddles with high "horns," most of them with a spike in front, were used

FIGURE 35.—Stirrups. a, Made of two pieces; b, made of one piece

[531]

almost altogether by women.[3] Saddles of this kind were generally ornamented with long flaps of skin richly embroidered which hung from both pommels, or sometimes just from the back one.[4] Cinches were of hide and woven horse hair. Stirrups were of one or two pieces of bent wood, and sometimes of mountain sheep horn. Hide was shrunk over the wooden ones, which were of several slightly dif-

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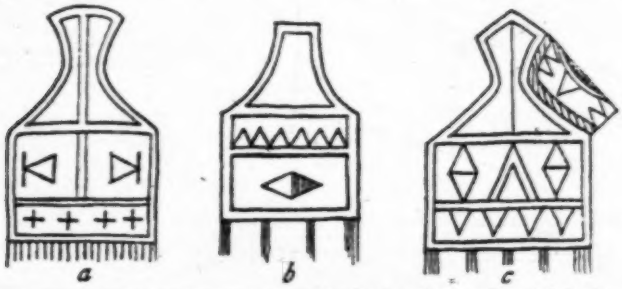

FIGURE 36.—Beaded flaps for stirrups for women's saddles. a, Common type. b, Less common type. c, With beaded foot rest

ferent shapes. For a common kind used by the Kalispel see Figure 35.[5] Cruppers were used on many saddles; those on women's saddles were wide and highly ornamented.[6] Beaded pendants[7] (fig. 36) were also much used on the stirrups of women's saddles by the Flathead.

[1] For the first type see *1*, p. 9, fig. 4 and perhaps *4*, p. 34, fig. 20; for the second, *1*, p. 10, fig. 5.
[2] *4*, p. 6, figs. 2; p. 21, fig. 17.
[3] *1*, p. 8, fig. 2.
[4] *1*, p. 18, figs. 11, 12; the former also used by women.
[5] *1*, pp. 18, 19, figs. 14, 15.
[6] *4*, p. 22, fig. 23.

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492 Pend d'Oreilles, and perhaps others. Various kinds of wide, highly ornamented collars, somewhat similar to the wide cruppers, were used
531 on horses ridden by women. (Fig. 37.) Breast pendants of various
*171 kinds, ornamental headbands, and even eagle-feather bonnets were also used on horses by men and women. Saddlebags of different kinds were used chiefly by women.[8] Most of them were beaded. (Fig. 38.) Square rawhide bags with long fringes were also much used by women as saddlebags.[9] Saddle blankets were of several types,[10] and some were richly embroidered. Bits consisted simply of a cord of hide hitched around the lower jaw; ropes of straps of hide, or of cords braided of dressed skin, rawhide, or hair. Hobbles were of the same materials. It seems that no spurs were used. Quirts were commonly used by both men and women. There were both the

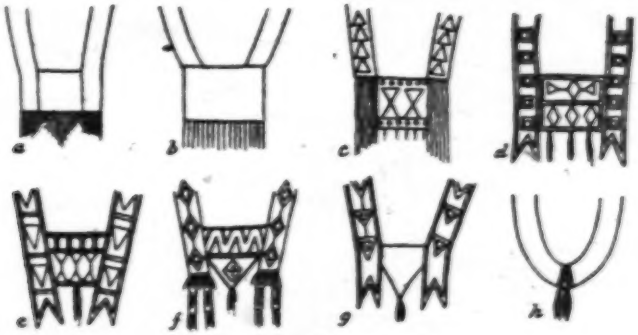

FIGURE 37.—Beaded flaps for horse collars

round and flat types.[11] Handles were of antler and wood, especially the former, and some were ornamented with incised designs.

Horses were often painted and their tails and manes arranged and decorated in various ways. Old-style saddles of some kinds, ornamented cruppers, collars, saddlebags, and quirts are still made and
492 used by the Flathead tribes. Horses were often used for dragging
*171 lodge poles in flat open parts of the country, where poles were scarce; but the horse travois was seldom used, even when hunting buffalo on the plains. All the western tribes, including the Shoshoni, carried loads on horseback. The travois was only suited for flat and open country, while packing was feasible everywhere, and, moreover,
[415] safer and more expeditious. A sack to be folded and laced was in
[178] use before the advent of the horse for carrying purposes; but the real

[8] [illegible], p. 22, fig. 19.
[9] [illegible] Thompson, p. 203, a, fig. 131.
[10] [illegible] Instance, [illegible], p. 22, fig. 18.
[11] [illegible] figs. 23, 24.

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parflèche, fitted with loops and supporting stick for packing on horses, came into vogue with the introduction of horses. 492 171* [415] [178]

Many young men rode bare back or on a saddlecloth fastened down with a cord or cinch. Most people could mount about equally well from either side, but the right side of the horse was the favorite side for mounting, as among all tribes.

SNOWSHOES.—Snowshoes were used by all the tribes, and appear to have been of the plateau type, like those of the Coeur d'Alêne. Sticks with mesh at the end for walking in snow were not used. 481 171*

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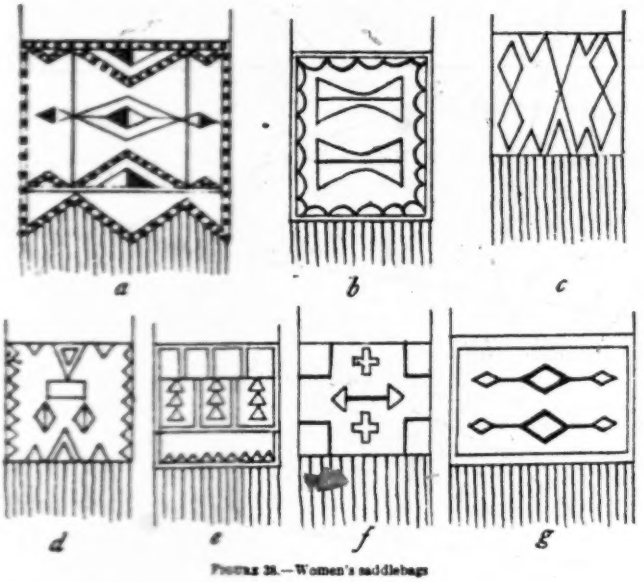

FIGURE 38.—Women's saddlebags

TRADE.—The great trade route between east and west, both before and after the advent of horses, was by way of Pend Oreille River, which was the easiest and the most important gateway through the mountains toward the Columbia River region. The horse and eastern culture reached the Columbia mainly by this route. In early times there was probably a steady filtering through of cultural elements from east to west, and *vice versa*, by this route. Before the advent of the horse there was probably a preponderance of western influence following this route eastward; while after the introduction of horses and the taking up of buffalo hunting by many of the plateau tribes, conditions were reversed, and a strong eastern influence set westward across the plateaus. What may be called the "western gate" of the Pend Oreille route was at a point on the river around 487 439 438 [178]

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4/87 Newport and Usk, in the territory of the Lower Kalispel. Here easy
438 travel by land and water following the river stopped, and trails led
439 directly west to the centers of the Spokan and Colville through easy country. Travel did not follow the Pend Oreille River below this point to its mouth, owing to the northward turn in the river and the roughness of the water and the surrounding country lower down. The main trade route from this point was to Colville, an important trading point and distributing center, only a short distance away. From here one route went up the Columbia to the Lakes, where there were points of contact with Okanagon, Shuswap, and Lower Kutenai; but it seems this was not so important a route as that continuing directly west through an easy, well-populated country to the centers of the Sanpoil and Okanagon, where it joined the Columbia River route, running north to the Shuswap and Thompson, and south to the Wenatchi, Columbia, and Sahaptian tribes. From the Kalispel, Colville, and Spokan a trade ro[illegible] followed the Spokane River to the Coeur d'Alêne. Routes of less im[illegible]rtance led from the Spokan to the Columbia and Paloos, connecting up with the North and South Columbia River route referred to. The route from the Colville to the Okanagon was by far the most important for the region to the west and north. The Colville occupied a central position for trading and had fine salmon fisheries. Trade came to their doors; they did not have to go after it. Large numbers of
*[171] Lake, Okanagon, Sanpoil, Spokan, and Kalispel came there for trading and fishing. Although the Spokan were also great traders they were rather more like the Klickitat, in that they roamed in search of it and acted to some extent as carriers. They are said to
[648] have made frequent trips to the mouth of the Snake and almost annually to The Dalles. It is also said that in later days they went sometimes in canoes as far as Fort Vancouver on trading and raiding trips, and there is mention of a combined party of Spokan, Nez Percé, Wallawalla, and Cayuse having gone, in 1844, up John Day River, and traveled 800 miles to Sutter's Fort on the Sacramento to trade for cattle.[12] There was not much trade directly north and south across country from the Nez Percé to the Coeur d'Alêne, thence to the Kalispel, nor from the Kalispel directly north or south. In early times there was also little intercourse, and therefore very little trade, across the Bitterroot Mountains. At one time the Coeur d'Alêne and Nez Percé had practically no direct trade with the Pend d'Oreilles and Flathead, therefore whatever eastern or plains influence reached the Nez Percé before the days of their taking up buffalo hunting must have come by the circuitous route by way of the Pend d'Oreilles, and passed on by Spokan, Coeur d'Alêne, and Columbia, or by the southern route via the Cayuse; for Indian

[12] F. F. Dye, McLoughlin and Old Oregon (Chicago, McClurg, 1900).

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informants say there was little direct trade and intercourse between the Nez Percé and Shoshoni for a long period of time, owing to continued wars. However, war is simply a different kind of contact, and may not have stopped the spread of cultural influences. According to my informants, the Nez Percé, before they began to go to the plains for buffalo hunting, had practically the same material culture as the Coeur d'Alêne and the adjoining Columbia River tribes. They differed a great deal from the Flathead group, who in most respects were more like the Shoshoni and Kutenai.

The "eastern gate" of the Pend d'Oreilles route was near Missoula. Another important point of entry was near the mouth of the Flathead River. From these places branches went north to Flathead Lake, and thence to the Upper Kutenai, while a less important branch went to the Kutenai at Jennings. Many Pend d'Oreilles, *Sxmtē'use*, and possibly Flathead came directly to a rendezvous near Missoula for root digging and trading. From the Missoula district there was a route running south through the Flathead country, by way of the Bitterroot and Big Hole, to the Shoshoni east of the Rocky Mountains, a branch of which went to the Lemhi Shoshoni at the head of Salmon River, Idaho. The other main branch from Missoula went to Helena, and thence to the Salish-*Tunā'ɣe* or Sun River people, continuing to Great Falls and the Teton River, and then north to the Kutenai-*Tunā'ɣe* and Blackfoot. However, the exact lines of the trade routes east of the Rockies are not quite clear. Some say there was a main line of travel following rather close to the mountains north and south from the Shoshoni tribes south of the Flathead, through the territory of the latter, and continuing through the Salish-*Tunā'ɣe* and Kutenai-*Tunā'ɣe* to the Blackfoot. The Pend d'Oreilles trade route joined this route at one or two points in the Flathead country.

There was an important main trade route east of the Cascades, following Columbia River from The Dalles north to the Thompson and Shuswap, and another route in the east, following the foothills of the Rockies, from the southern Shoshoni country north to the Blackfoot tribes. These two routes were crossed at right angles by the important Pend d'Oreilles route running east and west. Long ago considerable trading was done near Butte. At that time there was very little trade across the mountains between the Pend d'Oreilles and *Tunā'ɣe*. There was considerable intercourse across the Rockies between the Upper Kutenai and the Kutenai-*Tunā'ɣe*, probably by the Crow's Nest Pass in British Columbia. This route was of minor importance and affected the Kutenai only. According to some informants the Salish-*Tunā'ɣe* were the chief traders east of the Rockies. Most of the trade from the west of the Rockies, and that from the Shoshoni and Flathead south of them, passed through their

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hands en route to the Kutenai and Blackfoot. Another trading place was at a point about Great Falls. Nothing seems to be known as to trade down the Missouri from this point, nor whether there was any all-Shoshoni trade route running east of the Flathead country to the Blackfoot. In those days there are said to have been no tribes near by to the east with which the Flathead and Shoshoni traded, the inference being that there was a strip of plains country practically uninhabited to the east of the Shoshoni. It is said that trading parties of Flathead visited the Yellowstone, Lemhi, and other Shoshoni, and that Shoshoni parties visited them. Also trading parties of Salish-*Tuna'ɂɛ* visited the Flathead, Shoshoni, Kutenai-*Tuna'ɂɛ*, and even the Blackfoot. As the time of the trading days before the advent of the horse is so remote, little is now remembered regarding articles of trade. Shells of various kinds for ornamentation of the person and clothing, etc., came from the Far West and were traded to the Plains tribes. Stone and pipes of semitransparent green soapstone, eagle-tail feathers, mountain-sheep horn, and horn spoons, ladles, and bowls, dressed moose skin, plateau-made bows of wood and horn, coiled basketry, woven bags of the Nez Percé or Columbia River type, a little salmon oil, and salmon pemmican, and in later days horses, also came from the plateaus and were traded eastward. Horses were first traded from south to north and east on the plains, also west from the Flathead by way of the Pend Oreille River route, but when all the western tribes took up buffalo hunting horses ceased to be traded westward and went east and north. Goods that passed from east to west were chiefly catlinite and pipes of the same material, certain articles of clothing and ornaments, including polished buffalo-bone beads, horses and occasionally saddles, buffalo skins and buffalo robes, some dressed moose skin, occasionally buffalo horns and buffalo pemmican. The Flathead claim that long ago they sold many water-tight coiled-basket kettles to the Blackfoot, also shells, horses, pipes, pipestone, and probably bows and saddles. The Salish-*Tuna'ɂɛ* carried these to the Blackfoot. The Blackfoot also obtained horses from the Shoshoni, and flat wallets of Shahaptian and Salishan make reached them through the Flathead. As already stated, the Lemhi Shoshoni traded dried salmon to the Big Hole and other Flathead and the Colville sold salmon to the Kalispel. Objects common to all the tribes were also articles of trade, such as robes, clothes, dressed skins, paint, pipes, and tools. In later days, after members of the Coeur d'Alêne, Spokan, Columbia, Nez Percé, and other western tribes began to visit the plains for buffalo hunting, trading was carried on directly between them and eastern tribes whenever parties met who were friendly. About 1810 a party of Flathead and Shoshoni were met in the Big Horn Range on their

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way to visit the Arapaho on the Nebraska or Platte. (See Washington Irving, Astoria, chap. 29.)

After the coming of the fur traders several trading posts were founded within the territory of the Flathead tribes. Two posts within the Pend d'Oreilles country were at Post Creek (near Mission) and at Thompson Falls. The Lower Kalispel and many of the Spokan traded principally at Fort Colville. The old brigade trail of the fur traders from Colville crossed south through the Spokan country to Cow Creek, followed it downward, crossed the Palouse at the mouth, then touched Touchet Creek, passed to Wallawalla, and thence down the south side of the Columbia. According to Revais, some trading among the Indian tribes was done in later days along this route.

VII. WARFARE

Weapons of Offense and Defense.—The weapons of the Flathead group were the same as those of the Coeur d'Alêne and surrounding tribes. Bows and arrows have been described under "Hunting." Spears or lances were used, and various kinds of knives, clubs, and tomahawks. Long ago cuirasses of heavy elk skin and rawhide were in use; but they were discarded after the introduction of the horse as cumbersome and inconvenient in mounting and riding. Cuirasses of slats and rods of wood were probably not used. No long hide shields and no wooden shields were employed. Their only shield was circular, made of two thicknesses of skin from the neck of buffalo, moose, or elk bulls. In later days many shields were exactly like those of the Crow and other eastern tribes, but the old-style shield was retained by many men and was considered the most effective. Shield covers were used, but possibly not with all shields. Shields and shield covers had painted designs, and many were ornamented with eagle feathers and scalp locks. Nearly all weapons were painted and ornamented. The coup stick was in common use; and there were some tribal weapons of a ceremonial character, particularly among the Flathead. Some of these were spears, others clubs, wrapped or ornamented with ermine skins, otter skins, and charms.

Guns were introduced later than among the Blackfoot.

Warfare was conducted after the manner of the neighboring Plateau and Plains tribes, at least in so far as tactics were concerned. All the tribes took scalps and counted coup on the enemy. They also had several kinds of war dances and ceremonies in which they related their war exploits.

Wars.—Before the introduction of the horse there were very few wars, and peace generally prevailed among all the tribes. The Flathead are said to have had a few short wars long ago with some of the Shoshoni tribes, but as a rule the two tribes were on the best

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of terms. They had no wars with other Salishan tribes, nor with the Nez Percé and Kutenai. Once long ago a war party of Snake attacked the Flathead in Bitterroot Valley, but they were driven off with considerable loss and never came back.

The Pend d'Oreilles and Kalispel also had very few wars long ago. Once or twice they had short wars with the Coeur d'Alêne, and once the Kalispel helped the Spokan in a war with the latter. The Kalispel sometimes attacked the Kutenai and once killed a large number of Lower Kutenai, but it seems that the Pend d'Oreilles were always friendly with all the Kutenai. The Spokan very rarely had wars with the Coeur d'Alêne, Kutenai, and Nez Percé; but at one time they warred a great deal with the Yakima-speaking people, and raided down the Columbia to The Dalles, and even below. Spokan parties occasionally crossed the Wenatchi country and raided on the coast, and once or twice war parties of Spokan went as far as the Willamette. The Yakima-speaking people sometimes named the Spokan "robbers" because of their raids against them. There were no wars with the Colville or any tribes of the Okanagon group, nor with the Shuswap and Thompson to the north, nor with the Kutenai-*Tunā'ɣe*. In very ancient times there were no wars with the Blackfoot. Wars with the latter and with the advancing eastern tribes began about 1700 or 1750 and continued almost constantly until near the end of buffalo hunting (1880–1884). For over 100 years the western tribes—the Flathead, Pend d'Oreilles, Kalispel, Spokan, Coeur d'Alêne, Columbia, Kutenai, Nez Percé, Bannock, and Shoshoni, including the Ute—were arrayed in war on the plains against the Blackfoot, Crow, and all the eastern tribes, whom they considered intruders in the western buffalo country. They did not fight the Kiowa and Comanche, however. The Flathead knew of these tribes, but came very little in contact with them. The Comanche were considered as closely related to the Shoshoni, whose language they speak; while the Kiowa were considered somewhat similar to the Bannock. It is also said that the Comanche and Kiowa belonged to the western alignment against the eastern tribes. Besides the great war alignment of tribes (east *versus* west), there was much war among the eastern tribes themselves. Thus Assiniboin, Sioux, and Crow are said to have always fought against the Blackfoot tribes; the Crow against the Sioux, the Cheyenne against both, and so on. Until after the introduction of the horse there were hardly any alliances for war among the western tribes (Flathead, Shoshoni, etc.), each tribe, and sometimes each band, acting independently. Had they been better organized or more united, the Blackfoot and Crow would probably not have been able to encroach upon them. In early times the Spokan and Kalispel were sometimes in alliance, and

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again the Kalispel and Pend d'Oreilles, but at other times they were not. 628

Wars with the Bannock.—The Flathead tribes were almost always friendly with the Bannock, but they had misunderstandings two or three times, which led to bloodshed. Once the Crow stole some horses from the Pend d'Oreilles who believed that the Bannock were the guilty party. Therefore they attacked a Bannock camp. This led to a short war and several sharp encounters. Two chiefs arranged a satisfactory peace, and the tribes became friends again, and ever afterwards remained friendly. 726 171* [648]

The following story may refer to this incident: A large party of allied Salish were camped a little north or northeast of Fort Hall. A large party of Bannock came along and visited the camp for trading of horses, and danced with the Salish. When the trading, dancing, and games were finished, the Bannock moved to a place about 65 miles away. Two days afterwards a horse-raiding party of Crow stole many horses from the Salish. The latter felt sure that some Bannock had returned and stolen the horses. They were incensed at what they considered a treacherous act, as the Bannock only two days before had been entertained by the Salish, had traded and danced with them, and had parted the best of friends. They dispatched a party of about 200 warriors against the Bannock. This war party lay in ambush, and in the early morning, when the people were in the act of turning out their horses to graze, the Salish rushed the camp and captured about 300 horses. The Bannock were taken unawares, but they all ran out to fight, and were surprised to find that their enemies were the Salish from whom they had lately parted as friends. Before the mistake was discovered six Bannock were killed, including their chief, Louis, who had been reared among the Flathead. He was a fast friend of the latter, and spoke their language quite as well as his own. A number of Bannock were wounded; but none of the Salish were killed, and very few were hurt. Afterwards it was proved that the Crow had stolen the Salish horses and that the Bannock were entirely innocent. Peace was at once arranged between the tribes, the Bannock horses were returned, and presents were exchanged. [728]

Wars with the Blackfoot.[1]—There were many wars with the Blackfoot, probably many more than with any other tribe. Blackfoot war parties were often large, numbering from 200 to 400 men. Most of the fights were with the Piegan, as they appeared to be the most numerous and aggressive; but sometimes Blackfoot proper and Blood were engaged. As a rule, the Piegan parties were alone, but sometimes they were reenforced by Blackfoot and Blood. Occasionally the three tribes were combined, either purposely or by accident 000

[1] See pp. 126, 316 et seq.

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000 (meeting one another on the buffalo grounds); and in some instances very large parties were encountered, composed of Blackfoot, Blood, Piegan, Sarsi, and Gros Ventres. Once a fight occurred in the Big Hole Valley between Flathead and Blackfoot at a time when war parties of the latter were constantly appearing in the Flathead country. A party of Flathead numbering about 150 and including many women and children, under Chief Big-Eagle, had separated from the main body of the Flathead, and were traveling south. As they came over the top of a ridge they discovered a Blackfoot party of about 200 warriors. When they saw each other the Flathead drew up on the side of the hill and the Blackfoot did the same at the bottom. The former were all mounted, and the latter were all on foot. Some of the Flathead wanted to hold no parley with them. They thought it best to leave and at once send some men out to inform the main body of the Flathead, with the object of joining forces and cutting off the Blackfoot. Chief Big-Eagle was against this and said he would go and make peace with them. He took with him Bear-Track, who was subchief. They dismounted and went to the Blackfoot on foot. The latter formed a circle, with their chiefs in the middle, and the two Flathead chiefs entered the circle to smoke. Big-Eagle arranged his pipe and the Blackfoot chiefs agreed to smoke it and make peace. While the chiefs were smoking a Blackfoot Indian who was standing behind Big-Eagle pulled his bow out of his quiver without Big-Eagle or his companion noticing it. When they came back to their people some of the latter said to Big-Eagle, "You have no bow." The bow was a specially fine one, and Big-Eagle said he would go back and get it. Some of the people tried to dissuade him, fearing that the Blackfoot might kill him; but he said, "No, we have just finished smoking and have made peace." He walked back unarmed along with Bear-Track and demanded the return of his bow. The Blackfoot told them, "Asking for your bow is equivalent to declaring war on us. Our peace-smoke is now broken." They at once began shooting at them. Big-Eagle fell, pierced with many arrows, and Bear-Track escaped wounded. A fight ensued, the mounted Flathead circling around the Blackfoot, but the latter drove them off, and the Flathead had to retreat. Several were wounded on both sides. The Blackfoot did not manage to capture any horses or scalps, and soon gave up following the mounted Flathead, who now crossed country and overtook the main body of their tribe. As soon as the latter heard the news they held a short war dance. A large force of Flathead warriors returned to look for the Blackfoot; but the Flathead were unable to locate them. This happened toward the end of the eighteenth century.

721 Skate'lko, the father of the late chief Moses of the Columbia, was a noted
701 war chief. He was a tall man, 6 feet or over, and had many war trophies, for he had fought in many battles. He went annually to the plains for buffalo hunting, and had been in fights with almost all the plains tribes. He was able to talk or understand all the interior Salishan languages, Nez Percé, Yakima, Wallawalla, Shoshoni, and Bannock. He could also converse quite freely in Blackfoot, [628] Crow, and several eastern tongues. On his last trip to the plains he was with a 648 united party of Columbia, Kalispel, Pend d'Oreilles, and Flathead, hunting buffalo near Fort Benton, when they were attacked by a large party composed of Piegan, Blackfoot proper, and possibly others. Although the Salish party was large the Blackfoot party outnumbered it considerably. The Salish held their ground for two days, always beating the Blackfoot off. On the third day the Blackfoot made a determined attack on the camp with full force and hand-to-hand fighting ensued. The Salish repulsed them with heavy loss, and, suddenly assuming the offensive, turned the Blackfoot repulse into a rout. They followed the retreating enemy, killing many. Skate'lko, although an elderly man, was always in the van of battle, and led the pursuit. Near the end of the fight, just [766] when the Salish were about to quit the pursuit, he was shot. His people buried him on the battlefield and rode all their horses over his grave. He was about 60 years old when killed. This happened about 1840.

000 The year the first priest came to the Flathead (about 1839 or 1840) a Blackfoot party surprised the horse guard at the big Flathead camp in the Bitterroot Valley and drove away a large number of horses. Very few men on either side were hurt. The Blackfoot did not attempt to attack the camp, as they were not strong enough, but they got away with most of the horses they captured.

726 A Pend d'Oreilles party was traveling toward a rendezvous in the Flathead country, where they were to join a Flathead party for buffalo hunting. They camped at Finlay Creek. Early the following morning, on a little divide toward Evaro, they met a large Blackfoot party coming over a hill. The two parties exchanged shots, and then the Pend d'Oreilles fell back into the Jocko Valley, as the enemy was much superior in numbers. The Blackfoot surrounded them near where the Indians now hold their dances on the reservation, near the agency at Jocko. The parties kept shooting at each other at long range, the ground being pretty open and level. Some of the Pend d'Oreilles escaped on swift horses to advise the parties who were following behind, and who had camped the previous night not far away, while others rode to the trading post at Thompson Falls to obtain ammunition. The Blackfoot became afraid that they themselves might be surrounded, and gave up the fight, although

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726 most of them had guns, while the Pend d'Oreilles party had only five guns. This was at a time when guns were still scarce among the western Indians. In the fight two Pend d'Oreilles and one Blackfoot were killed and some on both sides were wounded. The Blackfoot were pursued but made good their escape.

726 *171 Another fight in the Pend d'Oreilles country took place about the same time. A Kanaka called *Gulia'ka* and another Kanaka were carrying goods on horses from the post at Thompson Falls to trade with the Flathead, who had formed a large camp in the Bitterroot Valley. Several Pend d'Oreilles were driving the horses and a few Flathead returning to their own country accompanied them. As they were passing near Evaro a Blackfoot war party watching from a hill sighted them. This party was in charge of a famous Blackfoot war chief named *Sata'*. The Blackfoot descended and attacked the party, killing both the Kanaka. All the Indians escaped and they managed to save all the pack horses and packs. The Blackfoot got nothing except the scalps of the Kanaka, and beat a hasty retreat. The Pend d'Oreilles called reinforcements, followed the Blackfoot, who were all on foot, and overtook them in the mountains. They killed three of them, while they themselves suffered no loss. The rest of the Blackfoot retreated into a rough piece of country and made their escape through the woods in the night. After this, McDonald, who was in charge of the Hudson Bay Co.'s post at Thompson Falls, offered $200 for *Sata''s* scalp. At one time there were five Kanaka, cooks and laborers, at the Thompson Falls post. The place where the Kanaka were killed is now called "*Kulia'*," from the name of the Kanaka *Gulia'ka*.

Once a war party of Blackfoot came to Sand Point in the Kalispel country and attacked a camp of people there. The Kalispel drove them off and killed three or four of them without loss to themselves. This was about the farthest west any Blackfoot parties ever came. Another time they came near to this place, but being discovered, retreated without fighting. This happened about 1820.

Once a rather large party of Salish, mostly Flathead, were camped on the Musselshell River. A Blackfoot war party numbering about 130 men, all on foot, discovered their camp. At night they crept up within gun range and erected six small semicircular breastworks of stones at different places commanding the camp. They probably thought they would give the Salish the impression that they were being attacked by a superior party, or that by a heavy gunfire they would make them evacuate their camp. At this time the Salish had very few guns. In the early morning the Blackfoot began firing into the Salish camp, and a battle ensued. The Salish believed the Blackfoot were inferior in numbers, and rather than stay in camp and be shot at, they prepared to attack the enemy. The latter were divided

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into six parties at the different breastworks. The Salish concentrated all their men, and riding out into the open rapidly rushed one breastwork after another, attacking from the sides and driving the Blackfoot out on the open plain. In the onslaught their chief, a Piegan, and several others were killed. The Blackfoot managed to get together and rally. The mounted Salish kept them surrounded and a long-range fight ensued. The Blackfoot were much superior to the Salish in guns, but they ran short of ammunition. They moved along slowly all day, the Salish having them surrounded and fighting them all the time. During the night they broke up into several parties and tried to escape; but in the morning the mounted Salish caught up with the largest party, attacked it and killed all the members. Another detached party when overtaken and surrounded began to sing a death chant. The Salish also rode through this party and killed them all. By nightfall all the Blackfoot had been disposed of except a few of those who had escaped the night before and had not been located or overtaken. They may have numbered 15 or 20 men. It is said that a Pend d'Oreilles party came on them later in the country farther north and killed nearly all of them. Probably not one of this party of Blackfoot ever reached their country. During the first night, when the Blackfoot were preparing to attack the Salish camp, they had managed in the dark to steal two very valuable horses. One was a pinto and the other a brown. When next morning the Blackfoot were driven out of their breastworks two unarmed lads mounted these horses and tried to escape with them. A Flathead on a very fleet horse chased them, and after riding about 6 miles killed them both and recovered the horses. During the two days' fighting the Salish lost very few men and had very few horses shot, but a number of horses and men were wounded. The Flathead who led the attack on the breastworks was killed by a ball and another Flathead (a subchief?) was shot and killed by a wounded Blackfoot when only about 2 feet away. A Flathead near by struck the latter down and scalped him at once.

Wars with the Cheyenne.—Sometimes the Cheyenne and Salish fought. Once they had a war in which they attacked each other many times and raided each other for horses, but no decisive battle was fought. A number of horses were stolen on both sides, but very few people were killed in either tribe. The most severe engagement was fought a short distance north of the Little Horn; neither side gained an advantage over the other. At the time of the Custer battle, or shortly afterwards, the Cheyenne deserted the country in which they had made their headquarters and moved temporarily into the Crow country, while the Crow moved north to the confines of the Piegan and stayed there for a time. It is said that this migration was due to fear of the Sioux.

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000 *Wars with the Assiniboin.*—About 1865 a Flathead party of considerable strength was camped at Three Buttes, near the confines of the Gros Ventres northeast of the present Blackfoot Reserve in Montana. War was on with the Assiniboin at that time and a war party of them attacked the camp at night. They managed to open a great number of the lodge doors and shot inside, killing in all four men and wounding the Flathead chief and some other people. A woman ran out of one of the tents with a pistol in her hand. The Assiniboin did not kill her as they were waiting for the men to come out. She shot the Assiniboin chief dead and escaped in the dark. The Assiniboin were driven off and at daybreak the Flathead started in pursuit. When they overtook them a running fight ensued and many of the Assiniboin were killed and wounded.

721 About the same time a large party of Coeur d'Alêne, Spokan, Kalispel, Upper Kutenai, and some Pend d'Oreilles were hunting *171 buffalo in the Sweet Grass Hills on the confines of the Piegan country. A large party of Pend d'Oreilles and Flathead were not far away in another direction. Two or more years before this the Assiniboin had boasted that they would drive all the Salish and Kutenai out of the buffalo country. A large war party of Assiniboin came for the purpose of attacking the camp, but when they saw the great strength of the Salish-Kutenai, they immediately made off without risking a battle. The Salish camp had 225 lodges.

000 *Wars with the Sioux.*—About 1860 a fight took place with Sioux in the country between what is now the Crow Agency and Fort Benton. A Sioux party of 15 or more had gone to steal horses from the Crow, and the latter had killed them all except one man, who escaped. Some other Crow had also killed some Sioux, who were now bent on revenge. A party of 75 or 80 Flathead warriors were traveling near this place, trying to locate buffalo. They had not heard of the recent fighting between the Crow and the Sioux and did not know that the latter were near. They saw a great many tracks which they concluded were made by River Crow, but they were tracks of Mountain Crow fleeing from the Sioux. The Flathead camped for the night. In the early morning they saw several strangers stealing some of their horses and the young men gave chase. These strangers were Sioux, who had discovered the Flathead camp. After a run of about 15 miles the Flathead had killed four of the Sioux and recovered most of their horses, but this had brought them in front of the Sioux camp. The Sioux all came out and the Flathead ran back. The Sioux, being on fresh mounts, caught up with several of the Flathead and killed them. Probably they would have caught up with all of them if their horses had been good, but Sioux horses were generally not as good as Flathead horses. A large number of Sioux took part in the pursuit, and when they reached the Flathead camp they surrounded it.

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More and more Sioux came, and when they had all arrived they attacked the camp. There were about 1,500 of them.[1] The Flathead were in a very strong position and were all well armed. The intention of the Sioux was to kill off as many of the Flathead as possible by gunfire and then rush the camp in a sudden charge and kill the survivors. The Flathead fought desperately all day. They lost 18 men killed and the Sioux had 24 killed, including 2 chiefs. At sundown the Sioux made a sign to the Flathead, "We shall kill you all to-morrow." The main body of the Sioux retired to their camp, leaving a sufficiently large number to keep the Flathead surrounded during the night. They knew of no way the Flathead could escape, and the number of men left to guard them far exceeded the number of Flathead. They intended to renew the attack in the morning, and, after some shooting, they were going to charge on the camp and expected they could easily kill the surviving Flathead. The latter, however, knew the country much better than the Sioux, and escaped during the night with their horses and wounded. Early in the morning the Sioux followed them, but could not catch up. When they reached a point near Helena they found that the Flathead had already crossed the river. On the way the Sioux missed a camp of 10 lodges of Flathead on the same side of the river as themselves, a little below Helena, and a second camp in another place near there. They never saw these camps, and the people in them did not know the Sioux were near. Chief *Arli'* was chief of the Flathead party who were out there buffalo hunting at the time of this fight.

Wars with the whites.—With the exception of the Spokan and a few Kalispel who joined them, the Flathead tribes had no wars with the whites. The Columbia River wars broke out in 1847 with the massacre of Doctor Whitman and others by the Cayuse. The Indians throughout the region were dissatisfied with the settlement of Americans in their country without treaty with them and recognition of their rights as owners of their respective countries. Some were also impressed with a belief that the Americans intended to destroy them and take possession of their countries, and with this object had already made "medicine" against them in the form of epidemics, such as smallpox and measles, which had killed many of them. If the whites settled among them they would make "medicine" perhaps still more effectively; and, besides, they would interfere with their living by killing off the game and fish, and perhaps they would blight the roots and berries. They knew the fur traders had not tried to hurt them or seize their lands, or interfere with their liberties; but the Americans seemed different, and they looked on them with suspicion and distrust. The Cayuse fought the whites for two or three years,

[1] It is not clear whether this was the estimated number of warriors or of people in the Sioux camp. The number of both was generally estimated by the number of tents counted.

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while all the other tribes remained neutral, because they were of divided opinion. There was a faction in every tribe in favor of the whites and a faction against them. In 1849 or 1850 (?) the Umatilla sided with the whites and defeated the Cayuse in a severe engagement near the head of John Day River (?), which practically ended the Cayuse war. According to Revais, 30 tents of Cayuse did not engage in the war and remained neutral. Feelings of dissatisfaction, distrust, and resentment against the whites continued among many of the Indians until 1855, when Governor Stevens made treaties with most of the tribes in the Columbia area all the way from the coast to the Blackfoot. However, some leading chiefs and large sections of various tribes were not satisfied. They claim that the treaties had been made at too short notice for proper deliberation, and without their full consent.

The same year the Yakima-Wallawalla war broke out. These tribes did not unite, but went to war independently in their respective countries, and during the war they acted and fought in two independent groups—Yakima, Klickitat, and Paloos in one, and Wallawalla, Umatilla, and Cayuse in the other. Many settlers were killed in the early part of the war, especially by the Klickitat. During 1855–56 several sharp engagements were fought between white troops and the Indians of both groups, resulting finally in the subjection of the allied Wallawalla. In this war also a number of Cayuse remained neutral, probably the same ones who were neutral in the Cayuse war; and during hostilities they moved to the Nez Percé. The Yakima, under their chief *Kamiakɛn*, who, according to some, was part Salish in blood, continued to fight until 1858. In these wars several of the Nez Percé bands and the Wasco furnished many scouts and guides to the soldiers. According to Revais, at the same time the Wallawalla were fighting (about 1856 ?), the Rogue River war broke out. The Indians there felt resentment against the whites, claiming that individual whites at various times had abused and ill-treated them, and the whites were becoming more and more insolent to them. Actual hostilities began in the following manner: Æneas, an Iroquois, at one time an employee of the Hudson Bay Co., had married a Rogue River woman and settled among the tribe. His wife had a child, and some time afterwards the tribe elected him as chief. At this time there were white settlements and stores about every 10 miles along the river, from the head to the sea. Æneas was employed by the whites as mail carrier along the river. On one of his trips a white man shot at him four times and wounded him in the hand. When he arrived home he told the Indians of the affair and advised them to attack the whites. That night the Indians went to war and began to raid all the settlements along the river. Æneas took possession of all the cash part of the loot and buried it in several places. Many whites were killed. At last

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the Indians were surrounded and surrendered, but Æneas escaped to friends in the Willamette Valley. His friends told him he would be hanged if caught, and advised him to go north to Fort Colville, where he would be safe, and where he had many friends; but he was anxious to see his wife and child, who had gone to Grande Ronde; so he went there. Shortly after his arrival some Indians reported his presence. He was captured and sentenced to be hung. He sent for his brother, who lived in Willamette, to come and see him; and he told him where he had buried all the money. After his execution his brother went to find the money, but on the way he shot and killed a white man and had to flee. He was caught and hung also. No one then knew where Æneas had hidden the money, and probably it is in the ground to this day. All the Salish tribes remained neutral during these wars. They refused to attack the whites, nor did they give the latter any active aid against the hostile tribes. However, they were gradually becoming more dissatisfied. They had made treaties or agreements in 1855 with Governor Stevens to relinquish parts of their lands; but they claimed that the matter had not been properly settled, and they objected to the land surveys, the building of wagon roads, and to new settlements, as long as their claims were not adjusted. A rush of white gold miners to Colville in 1856 (?) and later, without any regard to Indian authority and rights in the country, made the Spokan and others resentful. They had not yet received any payments for their surrendered lands and no reserves had been set apart for them. They believed that the whites were playing them false and that the treaties and agreements meant nothing. By 1858 they had become strongly of the opinion that the whites did not intend to keep their promises. In that year the Spokan and Coeur d'Alêne made an alliance for defense and war. They were to act on the defensive and keep the whites out of their countries until such time as the Government should settle everything fairly with them. They said they must have their reserves and payments before any more whites could enter their country. The Government must not break faith with them. They claimed the right to defend and rule their own countries. The territories of other tribes they would not enter as they had no rights or jurisdiction there. They would not attempt to molest or drive out the whites who were living in the territories of neighboring tribes. That was a matter for the other tribes to decide. The fighting forces of the combined Spokan and Coeur d'Alêne are said to have been about 1,000 men. This probably included about 100 men of other tribes who were with them—a few Yakima and Paloos refugees, about twoscore Kalispel, most of them related to the Spokan by descent or marriage, and a few others from various Salish tribes, Colville, Okanagon, Pend d'Oreilles, and two or three from the Thompson country. When Colonel Steptoe's force entered their

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721 country in the spring of 1858 the Indians met them and asked them what they had come there for. They answered that they were going to Colville and had no hostile intentions. The Indians said to them, "Why, then, are you armed, and why have you cannon with you? Your intentions must be hostile, and you had better go back out of our country." Instead of at once returning, the command
726 camped and assumed an attitude of war. Next morning, when there were no signs of their leaving, the Indians attacked them and drove them out. A running fight ensued to near Steptoe Butte, where the soldiers made a stand at evening. The Indians intended to finish the battle at daybreak; but during the darkness of night some Nez Percé scouts who knew the place well guided the survivors out through the enemy's lines, and they escaped. In the morning the Indians followed them right to the Snake, but did not overtake
[727] many of them. In this engagement the Indians claim to have taken the soldiers' camp, with all their outfit and provisions, their pack train of over 100 mules and horses, a number of cavalry horses, and arms, including some cannon. They also claim to have killed over half the command of about 200 mounted men. After this the Spokan and most of the Coeur d'Alêne went to Chief Lot's place on the present Spokane Reserve and held war dances. In the fall of the same year Colonel Wright, with artillery and about 1,000 horse and foot soldiers, besides Nez Percé scouts, entered the Spokan country. The Spokan and Coeur d'Alêne met them and fought four engagements with this force inside of a week, but had to retreat after each engagement. However, they managed to take all their women and children, the wounded, and many of their dead with them. In one instance they were unable to take all their lodges and baggage and burned some of them by setting a grass fire behind them.
728 When the command had nearly reached Spokane Falls the Indians held a council, and the Spokan, being out of ammunition and their chiefs at variance, decided to ask for peace. Chief Garry [3] was sent to Colonel Wright's camp to make the arrangements, as he could speak good English. Most of the chiefs surrendered, part of the agreement being that the Indians were to deliver up their horses. The Spokan delivered up most of the horses they had at hand, and it seems that the soldiers at once shot about a thousand of them. The Spokan were now quite unable to continue the war, even if they had wished to, for most of them were without horses and ammunition. Even in the beginning they had little or no chance of winning, being armed with old-fashioned muskets and bows and arrows. They were also short of ammunition at the start, and had no means of replenishing it. On the other hand, the soldiers were equal in numbers

[3] Chief Garry was sent when a boy by the fur traders to the Red River settlements in Manitoba, where he remained several years being educated. He could speak English fluently, and French nearly as well. He was also very proficient in Chinook and in the sign language.

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to the Indians, well armed with up-to-date long-range rifles, well supplied with ammunition, and, besides, they had howitzers, before which the Indians could not stand up. In their last council the Indians debated as to whether they should retreat into the mountains and continue the war, whether they should scatter into a number of small parties throughout the country, or whether they should sue for peace and end the war. They decided to sue for peace. It is said that they lost from 15 to 20 men killed in each of the engagements, and quite a number wounded. The losses of the soldiers are not known. Some Indians who would not surrender scattered into various parts of the country and gave up hostilities, while the Coeur d'Alêne retreated into their own country. After Colonel Steptoe's defeat the Spokan knew that a large force of whites would come some time and try to beat them, so they invited the Kalispel to join them for defense and war, as the Coeur d'Alêne had done. The Kalispel called a great council and debated the question for several days. Several of the chiefs and leading men were against going to war, and one shaman told the people that the Spokan and their allies would meet with defeat, as he had noticed some very peculiar happenings among the stars which portended evil for the Indians. One of the strongest speakers against the Kalispel entering the war was Michel Revais's father-in-law. A warrior called *Xane'wa* was very angry at his speech, denounced him as a coward, and asked the people not to listen to him. He told them, "I am going to war; I want to fight the whites." A war dance was held, but very few joined. In the end *Xane'wa* went to the Spokan with about 25 followers, and he was the first man killed on the Indian side in the battle of Spokane. Some soldiers on swift horses ran him down. One caught him by the hair and threw him off his horse and the others shot him when he was on the ground. When the war broke out the great majority of the Kalispel moved into the Salmon River country in British Columbia. This was a deer-hunting and fishing ground of the tribe. Some remained there for about two years to be as far away from the warring Indians and whites as possible. Others of them went over to the buffalo country.

Spotted Coyote, a famous war chief of the Pend d'Oreilles, was one of the very few warriors of that tribe who went over to help the Spokan and Coeur d'Alêne. It was said that he was bullet proof. At the battle of Spokane he rode the full length of the battle line twice, challenging the soldiers, and telling them they could not kill him. They kept firing at him all the time, but he remained unhurt. He had not seen cannon (howitzers) in action before. A number of Indians on the edge of a coulée saw the soldiers and mules turn to take the cannon to a hill. They thought the artillerymen were running away, so they charged on them. When they got close the soldiers

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726 turned the guns around and fired into them, killing a number of men and horses, and scattering the rest. When Spotted Coyote saw this he told the Indians, "There is no use of our fighting. We can do nothing against cannon. The whites are far superior to us in their arms. We must give up fighting and make peace, or leave the country." After this engagement he left the Spokan and returned to his own country.

000 [648] In the Nez Percé war of 1877 (?) the Flathead tribes were all neutral except to the extent that the Flathead furnished some scouts for the military. According to Revais, the war commenced in the following way. A number of the Nez Percé, and particularly those of Chief Joseph's band, were dissatisfied because the Government had failed to set aside for them a certain piece of land as a reserve, which had been promised; but probably this feeling alone would not have led to war. The immediate cause was that a white man had killed a man of Chief Joseph's band and remained unpunished. This Indian had two sons who were young men. Joseph's people were camped together and were holding a war dance for practice or fun. The two sons were taking no part in the dance, but were riding their horses around in the camp in a wild fashion. A man became annoyed at them, and, coming out of his lodge, said to them, "Why do you carry on like that? You think yourselves brave, and you run over my children. If you were men, you would not try to show off and ride over helpless children, but instead would kill the slayer of your father." That night the two young men went up the creek to where the white man lived and killed him. They took his race horse away, and then killed some other settlers on the creek. The whites reported that Chief Joseph and his people were dancing for war, which was not true, and a large number of soldiers came up and attacked the camp. The Indians retaliated, and thus the war commenced. Joseph and his people traveled to the east. He had about 400 warriors. The rest of the Nez Percé remained neutral. Joseph made for the Lolo Pass, followed by a number of soldiers, while another detachment of soldiers from Fort Missoula tried to intercept him. Along with them were many squaw-men, most of them married to Flathead women, and about 40 Flathead warriors who acted as scouts and guides. They lay in wait on the east side of the mountains; but the Nez Percé scouts saw them, and their party made a détour through a coulée beyond the ridge and passed the soldiers before the latter knew that they were there. When the main party had gone a considerable distance some of the Nez Percé left as a rear guard shot down on the soldiers, and only then did they know that the Indians had eluded them. Chief Joseph went to the Big Hole and later made a circle and passed both Shoshoni and Crow; but neither of these tribes would join him. Had he from the beginning gone straight north, either

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on the west or the east side of the Rockies, he could easily have escaped to the Canadian side; but he expected that some of the Flathead, Shoshoni, and Crow would join him, and in this hope went a roundabout way.

The Flathead tribes were also entirely neutral during the Bannock war. They never fought among themselves. Feuds between families were not common. In war the Flathead and Pend d'Oreilles claim that they seldom took captives. At least, in later wars they generally killed all of their enemies, including women and children, especially if they were Blackfoot, Crow, or other eastern tribes. A long time ago it is said that they had a few Blackfoot and Shoshoni captives, young women and boys. According to the Flathead, the Blackfoot were the first Indians known to them to acquire firearms and the Crow were the next.

The following is told of Lewis and Clark, who were the first whites seen by many of the Flathead. Lewis and Clark met the first Flathead (or Salish-speaking people) in the Big Hole country. Some Nez Percé and others were camped with them. A ceremonial smoke was held with Lewis and Clark, who sat on the grass when talking with the Indians. The latter thought they must be cold, and put a buffalo robe over each one's shoulders. Later the Indians were surprised to see them get up and walk away, leaving the robes. They expected that they would keep them and use them.

VIII. SIGN LANGUAGE

The Flathead were noted as adepts in the sign language, and all the tribes used it extensively in talking with strangers. The Chinook jargon was unknown, except in recent times among some of the Spokan and a few other Indians who had traveled extensively in the West, or who had been associated with the fur traders of Fort Colville. However, even at Colville and other interior trading posts, Chinook was not used a great deal, the principal language being French. Some Indians spoke a little French. The sign language was also employed to some extent by the traders, who had learned it from the Indians. The sign language in vogue was the same as that used by the Crow and other tribes of the western plains, or only slightly different.

IX. SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

The social organization of the Flathead tribes appears to have been in general of the same kind as that common to other interior Salishan tribes, the Kutenai, the Nez Percé, and the Shoshoni. There were no privileged classes, clans, gentes, phratries, and it is doubtful if there were societies of any kind. There may have been among the Flathead one or two companies corresponding somewhat to the dog

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000 soldiers or military and police societies of some Plains tribes, but I was unable to make sure of this point.

*171 Each tribe formed a unit, the members being bound together by
621 ties of blood, association, mutual interests, methods of making a liv-
[619] ing, common country, and dialect. Each tribe consisted of a number of bands, each making its headquarters as a rule in some definite locality, and composed of families more or less closely related by blood. The bands, however, had a greater range, or were more nomadic than those of most Salishan tribes of the Columbia and Fraser drainage. There are traces of groupings of some of the bands
[622] in larger units, at least among the Spokan and Kalispel. Each band had a chief and an assistant chief, who gave advice and looked after
619 the affairs of the band. There was no central authority except the
622 head chief. He and other chiefs formed a council and discussed the
*171 larger affairs of the tribe as a whole. The head chief kept the tribal pipe and other tribal property of a ceremonial kind used in the making of peace and war. It is uncertain whether the head chief was also a band chief or whether this chieftainship was a distinct office. As the exact number of bands that existed long ago is not remembered, the number of chiefs in each tribe is also unknown. The powers of the
198 chiefs were in large measure advisory only. The ancient social
621 organization changed so long ago that very little authentic informa-
*171 tion about it can be secured. The disappearance of the separate bands has been described before. Those of the Spokan and Kalispel never entirely disappeared. They were retained to some extent when
619 these tribes were on their home grounds. The political and social
*171 organization now was centralized in the tribe. Instead of a number of practically independent small bands loosely bound together there
621 was now a single organization for all. The bands ceased to have any
[198] local or geographical significance. Each tribe had a head chief, a subchief, and several "small" chiefs; but I did not learn much regarding the functions and duties of the different classes of chiefs. The
619 head chief is said to have been the leader of the tribe, but as a rule he
622 consulted the subchief, and often also the small chiefs, before deciding
624 any matter of great importance. The subchief was an assistant to
*171 the head chief, in whose absence he acted as substitute. If the tribe divided for any reason, the head chief took charge of one part and
619 the subchief of the other. The small chiefs had duties somewhat
624 similar to those of the band chiefs in other Salishan tribes. If the
*171 tribe split up into parties for root digging, berrying, or buffalo hunting, each going to a different locality, a small chief took charge of each party. The small chiefs were of great importance in the gathering of the food supplies and in the overseeing and carrying out of regulations of many kinds. They had to look after the general welfare of the camp and the safety, comfort, and good conduct of the people.

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They also had surveillance of the guarding and pasturing of horses and the procuring of firewood. There were fairly strict regulations regarding camping, fires, firewood, sanitation, herding of horses, scouting, guards, positions of lodges, positions of groups and tribes in the camp circle, and other matters. 619 624 191*

When on the great buffalo hunts and in the main winter camp there was some kind of division of the men into companies under leaders for the performance of definite duties. In some cases, at least, the leaders took orders from the head chief of the party. A group of young men acted as scouts; another group assisted the small chiefs acting as a police in camp and on the march. Another group of older men traveled with the women and children and assisted in making camp. Another group of young men were horse herders. Most of these companies were small, numbering perhaps a dozen, according to the size of the party. 621 191* 619

There was some method of ranking "braves" according to war experience and exploits, and positions were assigned to them when on the march, when attacking an enemy, and when stampeding buffalo; but I did not obtain details. There were no temporary hunting chiefs, as among the Thompson. [555] [624]

I was unable to learn definitely if each small chief always took charge of the same people, but there are indications suggesting that the small chief was originally a band chief; and most of the people who generally followed him in the summer when gathering food were probably descendants of people of a single, at one time local, band. Certain small chiefs were wont to go each summer to the same district, usually with the same families, and these places were considered their summer homes. A certain band almost invariably went to the Big Hole Valley to spend the summer, and a branch of this band nearly always went south to the Shoshoni country. I did not ascertain with certainty whether each small chief and the people who generally accompanied him in the summer had regular positions in the tribal camp circle. All the tribes camped in a circle, especially when buffalo hunting. When allied tribes were camped together each had its position in the circle. There was a definite usage regarding positions, which may have been geographical in origin. Thus, if Pend d'Oreilles and Flathead were together, the former occupied the north half and the latter the south half of the circle; if Flathead and Shoshoni, the latter were south of the former in the circle. The dance house, when one was in use, was generally in the center, or near the center of the circle. This house was also often used as an assembly house. Generally all the horses were driven inside the circle at dusk and herded during the night. Many were picketed and others hobbled. At daybreak they were turned out- 621 191* [624] 361 191* [221] 361 619 191* [344] 361 231 191*

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side to graze again. Often there was a considerable amount of grass within the circle, if the camp had not been long in use.

CHIEFS.—Chieftainship was never strictly hereditary. For a considerable time chiefs have been elected. When the head chief of the tribe died the subchief had the right to succeed him. One of the small chiefs was elected subchief and a good man of the tribe was elected to fill the vacancy among the small chiefs. If the subchief declined the position of head chief he remained subchief and one of the small chiefs was elected head chief. If the small chief first selected to be chief refused then another one was asked. On the death of the head chief his place was always filled by one of the other chiefs. The main reasons given for refusing the position of head chief were poverty and unfitness. One would say, "I am not good enough to be the head man of the people." Another would say, "I am too poor." In former times a son not unfrequently succeeded his father as chief, but seldom did members of the same family hold a chieftainship for over three generations. Chiefs were generally superior men, and before election were distinguished for qualities such as wisdom, social influence, oratory, truthfulness, or bravery. Dignity, wealth, renown for warlike exploits, and striking physical appearance were also considered. A loud talker, one boastful, or who could not control his temper, could not be a chief. A chief should be considerate in dealings with others, modest in speech and behavior, quiet, cool, resourceful, and perfectly in control of himself. He should never talk in a loud voice, quarrel, show anger, fear, or jealousy. Chiefs' wives and children also ought to be unassuming, quiet, dignified, hospitable, to show that they were really chiefs' people, and so not disgrace their husbands and fathers. There were no women chiefs. The chiefs of the Flathead group had a great deal of influence and were respected and obeyed by their people. They wielded more power than the chiefs of other Salishan tribes. Six or seven generations ago the Flathead and Pend d'Oreilles had each six chiefs—a head chief, a subchief, and four small chiefs. The Kalispel (probably excluding the Chewelah) had a head chief, a subchief, and three small chiefs. How the number of chiefs originated and whether they represent the original number of band chiefs is uncertain. If they do, then the Pend d'Oreilles probably consisted formerly of six bands and the Kalispel of five. At the present day there is said to be a head chief, a second chief, and two small chiefs for each tribe. The head chiefs of the Flathead as far as remembered were—

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1. *Tof'les heimi'*. ("Three-Eagles"), chief about 200 years ago.
2. *Koti'ls heimi'*. ("Big-Eagle"), said to have been a son of No. 1. He was killed by the Blackfoot (cf. p. 362 for an account of his death).
3. *Kotilrā'tēat* ("Big-Hawk"), a relative (probably a grandson) of No. 1. Killed by the Blackfoot. He was chief when Lewis and Clark came.

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4. *Sxwaxaxaxwaqt'* ("Standing Grizzly-Bear"), no relative of the preceding chiefs. He was more than half Pend d'Oreilles and Kalispel in blood. He was head chief when Michel Revais's father was young and he died the year the first priest came (around 1839). 000

5. (Victor) *Skelkel'xlitsi'* or *Sxwoixwelkelci* ("Plenty-of-Horses," from *xwoixwel*, "plenty"; *xlitsi'* or *xelci*, "horse"), no relation, or only very distantly related, to any of the preceding. Said to have been partly of *Tund'ze* descent, and his name of Salish-*Tund'ze* origin. He made the treaty with Governor Stevens in 1855.

6. (Charlos [or Carlos]) *L'amq'.ke* or *skwaqaike'* ("Small Grizzly-Bear Claw"), son of No. 5. He was living in 1909, aged 79 years.

There is some confusion regarding Nos. 2 and 3. Revais said he thought Big-Eagle and Big-Hawk were different names for the same man. Some say that Big-Hawk succeeded Three-Eagles, while others say that there was a chief between them. *Arli'* was subchief of the Flathead when the tribe made a treaty with Governor Stevens in 1855.

The same informants gave the Pend d'Oreilles head chiefs as follows: 622 619

1. (Alexander) *Ts'mxlhaqtlise'* or *tsmxlqaq.tse'* ("No-Horses"; from *tsmxl*, negative "without"; *haqtlise'* or *sax.tse'*, "horse"), said to have been partly of *Tund'ze* descent, and his name from the Salish-*Tund'ze* language. He died a very old man about 1868 and is said to have had 400 horses. He was the Pend d'Oreilles chief who made a treaty with Governor Stevens. Chief Alexander had an elder brother called *Tcxmko's'kwe'* ("Man-who-walks-alone"). He was a prominent man in his time. He and Alexander were first cousins to Michel Revais's father. Chief Alexander had a daughter who married Chief Louison. She was second cousin to Michel Revais.

2. (Michel) *Hwikwxlitet* ("Plenty-of-Grizzly-Bear": from *kwikwixl*, "plenty"; *elicl'* or *xlitet'*, "grizzly bear"), no relative to No. 1. He was a small chief of the tribe when his predecessor died and was elected head chief after two others—André and Pierre (or Peter)—had refused. He was probably partly of *Tund'ze* descent, as his name is from the Salish-*Tund'ze* language. He died about 1890.

3. (John Peter) *Neil'qen* or *Neil'riqen* (meaning uncertain, but an old hereditary name with suffix *-qen* "head"), son of No. 2. Chief in 1909, aged about 45 years.

The subchief of the Pend d'Oreilles when treaty was made with the Government in 1855 was *Nkultax.t'* or *Nkotilis.t'* ("Big-Canoe"). [648]

I obtained the following list of Kalispel head chiefs, but possibly they were chiefs only of the Lower Kalispel.

1. *Nt'wards* (meaning uncertain), chief before the whites came.

2. Nicolas (?) *Ku'lkuls kwimi'* or *Kulkuls qoit'm* ("Red-Eagle"), said to have been a son of No. 1. He died about 1835.

3. *Etswi'sesem.st'* ("Standing-Bear").

4. Victor *Ntcoka'lla'*. (meaning uncertain) or *Arla'maqen* (meaning uncertain, but an old hereditary name with suffix *-qen* "head"), died an old man. He was chief at the time of the war between the whites and the Spokan, and had a document given to him in 1859 by the chief of the military, recognizing him as a friendly chief.

5. Marcellin *Tcaqe'qei* (meaning doubtful), chief of the Lower Kalispel in 1909, and aged about 70.

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622 619 None of these chiefs made any treaty with Governor Stevens. Nicolas *Silxmuxs'tu'*, was subchief in 1909. He is said to be a descendant of one of the early chiefs. The late chief of the Camas Prairie or Upper Kalispel on the Flathead Reserve was Red-Eagle, a relative of Red-Eagle No. 2 of the Lower Kalispel. He died after 1900.

Some chiefs of the Chewelah (or Colville Valley Kalispel) were in succession as follows:

1. *Kwoikwoilxmxlo'* or *Kwoiwo'ilx* (meaning uncertain), said to be a Salish-*Tunā'ɣɛ* word. He was partly of *Tunā'ɣɛ* descent.

2. *Tcukwi'taqxn* (meaning uncertain), an old hereditary name with suffix *-qɛn* "head."

3. (Tom Peyette) *Silxmlōlōroi'* ("Chief Buffalo-Calf"), said to be a Salish-*Tunā'ɣɛ* name. *lōlōroi'* is understood to have meant "buffalo-calf" in the Salish-*Tunā'ɣɛ* tongue. This man's father was partly of *Tunā'ɣɛ* descent.

My informant did not know the names of the recent chiefs of the Chewelah.

000 The chief of the Kutenai who made treaty with the United States Government and obtained a share in the Flathead Reserve was Æneas *Kwotilxni'* ("Big-Knife"). This is his Pend d'Oreilles name, not his Kutenai name. He was a tall, strong man. His father was an Iroquois and his mother belonged to the Kutenai of Windermere, British Columbia. His son, also called *Kwotilxni'*, was chief of the Kutenai on the Flathead Reserve in 1909, and lived at Dayton Creek, near Flathead Lake, where the Kutenai are settled.

622 619 198 I did not obtain any list of Spokan chiefs. It seems that each division of the Spokan had a chief and some small chiefs. Long ago there was no head chief proper, although, according to some, the chief of the Upper Spokan was considered the leading chief of the three divisions. After the tribe took up buffalo hunting the Upper Spokan had a head chief, a subchief, and small chiefs like the Flathead, and it was customary to recognize the head chief of the Upper Spokan 622 as head chief of all the Spokan. When the divisions were combined 619 in hunting, traveling, and war, the divisional chiefs of the Middle and Lower Spokan and the subchief of the Upper Spokan were all classed as subchiefs, and ranked in the same way. In making treaties with the Government and in the war with the whites in 1858 Garry of the Upper Spokan was recognized as head chief of all the Spokan. At this time the subchief of this division was *Po'lotqxn* (an hereditary name). The chief of the Lower Spokan when the tribe made treaty was *Hwislpo'* ("Walks-Outside"). He was a brother of Oliver Lot *Kotilko'* ("Big-Star"), late chief of the Lower Spokan. *Spaił'ɣ*, a tall man, was chief of the Middle (or Hangman's Creek) Spokan in 1908, or at least of those on the Flathead Reserve. Each tribe 624 on the reserve continues to have its own chiefs. Besides the regular 619 chiefs, there were a number of war chiefs and dance chiefs in each

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tribe. Sometimes, at least, there was a head war chief and a head dance chief. In some cases the regular chiefs were also war chiefs and hunting chiefs, and some of them were also sometimes dance chiefs. There may also have been some men who were special chiefs or permanent captains of companies or groups of various kinds, but I did not obtain sufficient information on this point.

NAMES.—Personal names were similar in character to those of the neighboring Salish and Plains tribes. On the whole, they differed from those of the Thompson, Shuswap, and more northern and western Salish tribes in having far fewer names with regular name suffixes, such as are employed by the Thompson: *-ɛ̓sqɛ̓t* ("cloud"), *-ɛ̓llɛ̓t* ("stone"), *-qɛ̓n*, *-qɛ̓in* ("head"), *-x̣'tɛ̓n* ("robe"). Long ago names of this class were more abundant than they are now. The names of most men were derived from dreams, and many of them were connected with the guardian spirit. A great many other names were derived from exploits or personal characteristics, and a few were nicknames. If a man were very wealthy he might take the name "Many-horses"; if he had killed many enemies he might be called "Killed-many"; and so on. As among the Thompson, a man sometimes showed his modesty by taking a name meaning exactly the opposite of the characteristic for which he was noted or for which he wished to be distinguished. In some cases he took a name of this kind, or it was given to him, in irony. Names of this sort were common. Thus a man very wealthy in horses might be called "No-horses." If very wealthy in every way, his name might be "Poor-Man" or "Beggar." Sometimes a distinguished man was given a name as a mark of honor, and the man adopted it if he saw fit. These names generally had to do with exploits, particularly in war. Names derived from dreams or connected with the guardian spirit were taken from visions seen or given in dreams, from the personal appearance of the guardian spirit, or from directions given by him. Some were names given by the guardian spirit and told to be used, and others were names of the guardian spirit himself. Adjectives such as "big," "little," "red," "black," "blue," "spotted," were frequent in these names. Many were obtained at puberty, but some were taken later in life. Any name, once adopted, could become an hereditary name. Following are a few names:

Tena'ɛ̓qɛ̓t ("—— Cloud," an old hereditary name), a celebrated chief of the Okanagon long ago. The name is also used by the Spokan.

Sazaxpaqai'n ("—— Head," an old hereditary name), a former noted chief of the Nespelim. The name occurs also among the Spokan.

Stakaxtci'. (possibly "Blue-Man"), a former prominent chief of the Lower Spokan.

Elexa'uxa xpɛ̓kana' ("Chief-of-the-Sun"), a former chief of the Lower Spokan.

(Isaac) *Kwoiɛ̓pɛ̓kana'* ("Black-Moon"), a late dance chief of the Flathead.

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000 (Big Sam) *Nkaltsɛ'ē'* ("Big-Canoe"), a Flathead chief, a leader of dances. His name is that of a former Pend d'Oreilles chief who was his relative. (See Pend d'Oreilles chiefs, p. 377.)

(Moise) *Kwɛ'ltsɛme'pstsɛmza'* ("Door-of-the-Grizzly-Bear"), a chief and judge of the Flathead, 1909.

(Louison) *Kwulkwulsnī'na* ("Red-Owl"), a chief and judge of the Flathead, 1909. "Red-Owl" was also his father's name. The other judge of the Flathead in 1909 was Louis Pierre.

(Moise) *Titīslu'tsu'* ("Crawling-Mountain"), a former subchief of the Flathead.

Sxu'tesɛmɛzē' ("Grizzly-Bear Track"), a subchief of the Flathead when Big-Eagle was head chief (see p. 362); also the name of a celebrated Flathead shaman and prophet born about 1790 (see p. 384).

Iâlelɛmī' or *Yôlelɛmi'* ("Good-Chief"), a rich man of the Flathead. As an irony on his name, Revais stated that he killed his sister with a knife on a Christmas night, two years afterwards killed his wife, and later killed another wife.

551 *171 Other names of the Pend d'Oreilles and Flathead were "Spotted-Coyote," "Red-Hawk," "Buffalo-Bull," "Red-Horns," "Red-Bull."

567 *171 727 SLAVERY.—Slavery was not prevalent among the Pend d'Oreilles and Flathead. Long ago the only slaves were a few captives of war, consisting of young women, boys, and girls, who were adopted into the families to which they belonged, and were treated well. Some of them were Blackfoot and Shoshoni. In later times, it is said, there were no slaves of any kind, as the Flathead and Pend d'Oreilles did not trade in slaves, and never took captives. They preferred to kill rather than take prisoners; and members of enemy tribes at their mercy after a battle were either killed or allowed to escape. It is said that the Spokan, however, had a number of slaves at one time, some of them captives of war, and others procured in trade from Columbia River tribes and at The Dalles.

276 *171 SMOKING.—There is no tradition of a time when these tribes did not smoke. Some tubular pipes were used very long ago, but pipes of the elbow type, the simple bowl type, and the type with platform, have been in vogue for a long time. Some pipes of the elbow type had flanges along the outside of the bowl, which were sometimes serrated. Pipes were made of soapstone of various colors, red [439] and black being the most common. Catlinite was procured from Plains tribes and also from the Shoshoni. A red soapstone, duller in color than catlinite, was obtained near Pend Oreille Lake; a brown kind from the Coeur d'Alêne country; and occasionally green, yellow, white, gray, and mottled from western tribes. Black soapstone was common in the Flathead country. In ceremonial smoking the pipe was always passed around sunwise. Before smoking it was often pointed with the stem toward the four points of the compass and the earth and sky, or whiffs of smoke were blown in these directions. After smoking, in some ceremonies, the pipe was laid down to cool on a buffalo skull. A kind of wild tobacco was used in smoking, probably the same kind as was used by the Thompson and Shoshoni.

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X. BIRTH, CHILDHOOD, PUBERTY, MARRIAGE, AND DEATH

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TWINS.—There were no regulations regarding twins. They were not treated differently from other children. Their parents did not live apart with them, and there were no twin songs.

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BABY CARRIERS.—The oldest style of carrier among all the tribes consisted of a short board, to which the baby, after being wrapped, was strapped. The upper end of the board did not reach to the baby's head. These boards had no hoops. Drains were used for male children only. A high board carrier came into use about 1800. According to Revais, it was adopted on the advice of the French-Canadian employees of the fur companies, who told the Indians to use a higher board so as to keep the child's head more steady. Soon afterwards a very high board [1] came into universal use among all the Flathead tribes as well as among the Coeur d'Alêne, Nez Percé, and others. It is said that bark carriers were never used, although they were known to be used for young infants among the Coeur d'Alêne, Colville, and other western tribes. Carriers of basketry or wicker-work were never used. Navel-string pouches were in common use.

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HEAD DEFORMATION.—The Flathead tribes never deformed the heads of infants. They used no pressure or straps of any kind on babies' heads. It was impossible to press the heads of infants on the short board carriers formerly used. Revais said that in very early times none of the Salish tribes, nor the Nez Percé, pressed the heads of babies. He considered that the custom spread up the Columbia from the coast, as it was universal among the Chinook, Wishram, and Wasco. The Klickitat, Tenaino, and all the tribes bordering on the Chinookan people, also pressed their heads, but generally to a much less degree. The custom was also found among the Taighpam, Umatilla, Wallawalla, Cayuse, Yakima, and Columbia, but in a still less degree, and it was not practiced by all families. The custom appears to have gained ground along Columbia River, for probably at one time none of these tribes flattened their heads except the Wishram and other Chinookan tribes. Before the custom went out of vogue it had also spread to the Coeur d'Alêne and Nez Percé, some of whom flattened their heads slightly.

In a later communication Mr. Teit says: "All the tribes except the Coeur d'Alêne claim that no head flattening was practiced in early times, for it was impossible with the old-style board carrier. After the introduction of the long board carrier more or less flattening occurred in all the tribes using them. The Coeur d'Alêne made use of a pad of stiff skin attached to the carrier, which was tightened over the baby's head when it slept, to keep the head from moving. This is said sometimes to have caused slight flattening of the head.

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[1] See Mason, "Cradles of the American Aborigines," Washington, 1886, fig. 12, a Spokan carrier.

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304 856 *171 The Nez Percé are said to have had the same arrangement, and some of them purposely flattened their children's heads by severe tightening of the pad. Many people in all the tribes below or west of the Nez Percé flattened their children's heads to some extent, but only from The Dalles down were heads flattened severely."

881 *171 PUBERTY.—Puberty customs and ceremonies were similar to those of the Coeur d'Alêne and neighboring Salish tribes. Young men fasted, prayed, exercised, and kept vigils until they acquired one or more guardian spirits. They obtained songs from them, as among the other tribes.

58 595 *171 MARRIAGE.—Marriage customs were like those of the Coeur d'Alêne. A great many men had two wives, and some more. A marrying dance was in vogue. Revais said he had known five or six women who died as old spinsters.

593 *171 [604] MOTHER-IN-LAW TABOO.—Unlike the Coeur d'Alêne, the Flathead had no mother-in-law or father-in-law taboo. Brothers and sisters were not expected to speak obscenely in each other's presence. A brother who talked obscenely within hearing of his sister, and *vice versa*, was severely reprimanded; and if he persisted or customarily did this, he was no longer respected by the people.

841 178 *171 CUSTOMS REGARDING WOMEN.—Long ago menstruating women had to live apart in a tent by themselves. In later days they were allowed to live in the same tent, but apart from their husbands. Now it is said they cook food and live with their husbands, as among white people.

764 *171 BURIAL.—Burial was the method of disposing of the dead among all the interior Salish tribes. The corpse was sewed or tied up in mats, skins, or robes, and placed outside on a scaffold or in the branches of trees until ready for burial. As soon as the people had gathered and a grave had been dug, it was buried in the ground, preferably in sandy knolls, or in the rocks at the base of a rock slide. In olden times stones were piled on the top of graves. The pole by which the body had been carried was erected over the grave. Sometimes also one or more small poles in form of a tripod were erected to mark the spot.

766 *171 Offerings were tied to these poles. If the burial took place in a strange country no stones or poles were used, and all marks of the burial were obliterated. This is said to have been chiefly so that no enemy might find the grave and desecrate it in any way or take the scalp of a person lately buried. To deceive enemies, horses were ridden and driven back and forth over the grave, as well as over the ground for a considerable distance around; so that it became difficult to tell the exact spot of the burial. (See p. 363.)

Another method was to bury in the camp circle and to light a fire over the grave, so that it had the appearance of one of the ordinary fires of the circle. A number of small camps were also made to de-

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ctive enemies. On examining the place people would think a party had rested there for a short time, judging by remains of small fires, cut wood, and tracks.

XI. RELIGION AND CEREMONIES

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RELIGION.—A belief was held by the Flathead that there are three worlds, one above the other, the middle one being the earth on which we live. A great and good chief, who is the source of life, lives in the upper world and rules it, while the chief in the underworld is of an evil disposition.

Another somewhat similar belief was that there is a great tree, the roots of which sink far into the earth, and the top of which reaches the sky. The great good chief *Amo'tkɛn* sits on top of the tree, while the bad chief *Amte'p* sits at the root within the earth. All the good people go to *Amo'tkɛn's* country when they die, and the evil ones to *Amte'p's* country.

The Flathead prayed to *Amo'tkɛn*, but not to *Amte'p*. The former makes rain and snow, makes everything go right on earth and in the sky, makes food plentiful, and tries to benefit people. *Amte'p* is mysterious, and often tries to harm people, to blight the crops, and make game and food scarce. The wicked beings of mythological times who formerly inhabited the earth live with him. Spirits still haunt the lakes, rivers, and mountains where they once lived, and do harm to people.

Amo'tkɛn is the deity who sent Coyote into the world to make life easier for the people. The Flathead believed that souls go north to the entrance to *Amo'tkɛn's* country. Coyote lives in an ice house at the gate through which souls pass. Some Pend d'Oreilles think that souls followed the main streams north to the gate of the spirit land. The Kalispel say that souls follow the streams first north and then west to the spirit land, in just the same direction as the main river runs. Others say that souls follow the streams to the sunset land, where the shades live, and disappear there, just as sun and moon do. The east is considered the region of birth and life, the west that of death and mystery. The mythological tales of the Flathead tribes are closely related to those of the Plateau tribes to the north, west, and south. They also show some relationship to tales of the Plains and Algonquian tribes. Coyote was the culture hero.

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GIANTS, DWARFS, ETC.—Beliefs in races of giants and dwarfs were held, as among the surrounding tribes. Dwarfs are called "small people," while the name for giants is the same as that used by other Salishan tribes. Different kinds of spirits are said to haunt certain lakes and parts of the mountains. They are similar in character to the "land mysteries" and "water mysteries" of the Thompson. Offerings were made to them to obtain good weather, good hunting,

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776 *171 and immunity from harm of any kind when people were within or near their sphere of influence.

787 *171 GUARDIAN SPIRITS.—Guardian spirits were of the same classes as among the Coeur d'Alêne. At puberty, every one endeavored to obtain one or more of them, and for this purpose went through a long course of training. Bathing in running water, fasting, praying, and keeping vigil in lonely places were prominent features. Every one obtained

533 *171 [787] one or more songs at puberty. Some were received directly from the guardian spirit, others were heard in dreams or visions. When not obtainable in this way, songs were occasionally composed by the novice in secret. Some songs were merely modifications and new variations of those already known to the people as a whole. The themes were usually suggested by something seen during the vigils or while training. A song might begin with the words, "I saw a bear," and so on. Sometimes songs expressed the desires or expectations of the person, and might begin with the words, "May my friend the eagle come!" "May such and such happen!" "May I see such and such a thing!" "May I do this or that!" Songs were also composed in later life after notable dreams, important events, or war exploits. There were also some songs composed for fun, with words of a comic nature.

778 *171 Men kept skins, feathers, hairs, claws, and other parts of animals and birds, which were representations of their guardian spirits, and also charms, roots, etc., in medicine bags of leather, rawhide medicine cases, or small specially made parfléches. When going to battle many men carried their medicine cases, while others affixed feathers or skins of their animal guardians to their hair or clothing.

838 *171 [756] BERDACHES.—There were a few cases of men dressing and acting like women. As a rule, they became shamans, and cured sick people. They lived alone, did not marry, did not go to war, dressed in poor clothes, and never bedecked their persons gaudily. They dressed and did up their hair like women. They did all kinds of woman's work, and no man's work. Young men sometimes visited them and joked with them, but they held no familiar intercourse with either sex. Occasionally, to please the men, they would dress in men's clothing for a day and then resume their ordinary clothing. It is supposed that they were told by their guardian spirits to live as women do. Revais knew two who went by the women's names of Marguerite and Julianne. One began to dress and act like a girl when 7 or 8 years old, and the other when 10 or 11. Both were full-sexed males, and not hermaphrodites.

756 *171 000 SHAMANS.—Shamans and beliefs connected with shamanism were similar to those of the Coeur d'Alêne and other Salishan tribes. A noted shaman and prophet of the Flathead was Bear-Track, who died about 1880, aged over 90 years. If the people could not locate buffalo they asked his help. After gathering all the young men together he

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would take his drum and sing, making them all join in the song. After singing a while, he would say, "The Piegan have made medicine and keep the buffalo. I will break their medicine and make the buffalo come. In four days the buffalo will arrive, and you will see many of them." Buffalo never failed to be found or seen in the time and numbers he stated. Sometimes Bear-Track would say to the chiefs or to the people, "The Crow [or Blackfoot, as the case might be] are on their way to steal horses. They will be here to-night. Make ready and kill them." His prophecies always proved to be true. He could tell when battles would be fought, foresee the results, and the numbers killed. He could tell where friendly and hostile camps were, and where and when persons would be found or met. The Crow and Blackfoot knew him well, and were very much afraid of him. If some of them happened to hear his drum they would run back and give up the attempt to take horses. They believed he could see them as soon as he began to drum and sing. Many hostiles, as soon as they learned he was in the camp, would at once leave and abandon the attack. They believed he could frustrate all attempts to take horses and scalps; and that if they tried to open a fight they would certainly be killed.

MISSIONS.—Nominally almost all the people of the Flathead tribes are Catholics, but they do not appear to be as much under the control of the church as, for instance, the Coeur d'Alêne. Revais told me the following about missions. The first priests to come west of the Rockies to the Columbia or Oregon country were the two Blanchets and De Mars from Canada. The first missionary among the Flathead was Father De Smet. He had no fixed headquarters, but traveled about among the Indians. A special mission was founded in the Bitterroot Valley about 1840 or 1841; but it was given up after a few years, on account of Indian wars and the frequent raids made for stealing horses and cattle. Father McGraney [1] was the first resident priest of the mission. He moved to Oregon about 1842 or 1843. In 1843 (?) [2] Father Hogan founded a mission at Kalispel and had a church built there. The mission at this place was given up and transferred in 1854 to the present one on the Flathead Reserve at St. Ignatius. Some of the Iroquois who settled among the Flathead interested them in the white man's religion and in the Bible, and persuaded them to send to St. Louis for priests. Four young Flathead men started in 1831 and reached St. Louis, where they wintered. Two of them died there, and the other two set out for home in the spring, but never reached there. It is supposed they were killed or captured on the road. Some authorities say seven men started—three Flathead and four Nez Percé. Three of them turned back, two

[1] I give the name as it seemed to be pronounced by Revais.
[2] Revais seemed to be sure of some dates, and not so sure of others.

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797 *171 died in St. Louis, one died on the way back, and only one, a Nez Percé, reached home. In 1835 the tribe sent another delegation headed by old Ignace, an Iroquois. They returned safely. In 1837 they sent a third delegation, who were all killed by the Sioux. In 1839 the fourth delegation went, consisting of one Flathead and one Iroquois. They brought Father De Smet the same or the following year. A large escort of Flathead, Pend d'Oreilles, and Kalispel, and some Nez Percé met Father De Smet near the Wyoming boundary. The following year more priests came, and a Flathead escort met them at the Wind River Mountains. There was no permanent mission among the Spokan until about 1865 or later.

796 *171 CEREMONIES AND DANCES.—There appears to have been a considerable number of ceremonies connected with war, and many different kinds of dances, among the Flathead tribes. Among the Spokan, and probably the other tribes, there were two periods, each lasting two or three weeks, in which the whole tribe assembled for feasting and dancing. One gathering, probably the principal one, was about midsummer, and the other about midwinter. Warriors recounted their exploits. The people wore their best clothing and decorated their horses. In some places the winter gathering was much less important and confined often to bands. Singing formed an accompaniment to all dancing. Deer hoofs and other rattles, rasps, sticks, and drums were used for beating time.

Sun dance.—The sun dance of the plains was not adopted, although the Flathead especially were well acquainted with its performance among eastern tribes. A sun dance something like that of the Coeur d'Alêne was kept up by the Spokan as a distinct dance, often performed by itself. Among the Pend d'Oreilles and Flathead it was combined with the praying dance, at least in later times, and obscured by it. Thus, although these tribes performed a dance at the time of the solstice, when the sun was observed to turn, the dancing and prayers were the same as in the praying dance, and it seems that the sun was not directly addressed (?). The people prayed, danced, and sang with intervals of rest and feasting. Offerings were made in some places and many of the paintings were symbolic of the sun. The dancing lasted from one to four days. The sun was addressed as chief, father, great mystery (?).

000 Some of the Flathead held their summer sun dances in conjunction with Shoshoni and it seems that these Flathead had a more elaborate dance than the Salish tribe farther west.

796 535 *171 *Praying dance.*—The praying dance was held several times during the summer, often four times. The people danced in a circle, one behind another and following the sun's course. They made the same signs while dancing as the Thompson and Coeur d'Alêne, and prayed and talked to *Amo'tkan* to keep them well and preserve them

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from harm. The dancers sang while dancing. There was no drumming or loud cries in this dance, which was of a solemn character. I did not learn whether it had any connection with the belief in the return of souls, or with other beliefs entertained by the Shuswap and Thompson regarding souls; but there were some vague beliefs of this kind among the Kalispel and Pend d'Oreilles. Long ago a dance was held for four days in the wintertime, generally in January, at which prayers were offered, but it is not clear whether this was the sun dance, the praying dance, or another somewhat similar dance. At this dance or some other dance, offerings of tobacco and old clothes were made and hung on a pole.

First-fruits ceremony and harvest dances.—In olden times all the Flathead tribes had first-fruits or harvest ceremonies, which were combined with dancing. The chief painted his face, called his people together, and prayed to *Amo'tkɛn* to continue giving them good crops and prosperity, abundance of food and facility in gathering it and immunity from sickness. He thanked him for the present crops, and made him an offering of the first fruits on a dish. He then sang a song, and the people danced. Afterwards the chief called on the men to sing. They sang in turn, the people dancing to each song. The women did not sing individually, but while dancing joined in each song. In some places these ceremonies and dances were performed during the summer and autumn as each principal variety of roots or berries was gathered. In other places the ceremonies were performed less frequently or only at the beginning of the harvest season.

Hunting dances, buffalo dance.—I did not hear of any horse dance to celebrate the period when horses are fat and buffalo hunting was about to begin, but a buffalo dance was performed in conjunction with the war dance before any large party went buffalo hunting. Another kind of dance relating to buffalo hunting was sometimes performed when buffalo were scarce. Generally a shaman who had power over the buffalo was requested to take charge of the dance.

Guardian spirit.—A "medicine" dance was performed every winter. Men sang their guardian-spirit songs and danced. Some people did not sing, but shamans always did so. In later days only a few men, generally those who had powerful guardians, sang at this dance. There was no praying, and *Amo'tkɛn* was not addressed. Usually the dance lasted four days. This dance and some others were said to produce cold weather or wind. Some think it had the power of preventing sickness among the people and destroying "bad medicine" made by shamans of other tribes.

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Turkey and other animal dances.—Dances were performed in which the dancers imitated the actions of birds and quadrupeds, but it is not clear whether the dancers were members of any societies or

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dancing organizations. In later days the turkey dance was introduced, the dancers wearing feather bustles, and imitating the walking and actions of the wild turkey. The dancers stooped forward, walked stiff legged, held one hand up to the forehead and the other back at the backside. Most of the animal dances were named after the animals imitated, such as deer, bear, dog, raven, chicken. Some of the leaders of these dances wore regalia appropriate to each dance.

Marrying dance.—The marrying dance went out of use at an early time. It was nearly the same in form as that of the Coeur d'Alêne. The young women danced in one line and the young men opposite them in another line within touching distance. When the song commenced the two lines moved in opposite directions. All carried short sticks or batons. When a man chose a girl he touched her on the shoulder with a stick. If she refused him she struck the stick off with her stick.

Round dance or squaw dance.—The women form a circle or a three-quarter circle close together, and sometimes join hands. They move round sidewise, following the sun's course, and bringing one foot up to the other with a jerk. The drummers usually stand in the middle of the circle and move around slowly, in the same manner as the dancers do. Occasionally the drummers sit. They and the dancers sing together. In one of these dances which I witnessed four drummers stood back to back, facing the dancers, and turned as the dancers did, so that their faces were nearly always toward the same part of the circle. The women formed a wide and complete circle on the outside, except at one place, where a gap was left wide enough to allow a person to pass through easily. Many of the dancers joined hands; others put their hands on each other's shoulders or around each other's waists. As soon as the drums started all went round singing. Presently a woman among the spectators took up a man and led him through the opening in the circle to the space inside between the dancers and the drummers. Here they went round together in the same way as the other dancers. Several other women among the spectators did the same, and also some women in the original dance circle left it and took up partners. The couples in the inner circle joined hands or locked arms, and went round in pairs close together. After a time the music stopped and the dancers stood still. Presently it started again, and they continued. This pause was a notification that the next time the music stopped the dance was at an end. At the end of the dance all took their seats except the couples who had formed the inner circle. These now formed in a line. The dance chief advanced toward them and asked each woman in turn what she intended to pay her partner for dancing with her. The chief then called out in a loud voice that so and so would pay such and such an amount to her partner for dancing

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with her. Most of the payments were small, such as tobacco, fifty cents, a dollar, a handkerchief, etc.; but anything may be given; a blanket, a horse, etc. After a rest the dance started up again and continued in the same way as before, with only this difference, that the men who were chosen as partners in the last dance now returned the compliment to their erstwhile partners by taking them up to dance and giving them presents in return. Most of the men returned a little more than the value they had received from the women. Occasionally this dance is called at the request of any man who says he would like to see the women dance. Then only the women dance. They generally do so in their best style, both in dancing and singing; and at the end of the dance the man may donate perhaps five dollars to the women, the amount being divided equally among them by the dance chief. This round or women's dance is said to have been introduced recently by visiting Cree or Ojibwa—about 1895 or 1900.

Begging ceremony.—I saw a kind of begging ceremony performed by some Cree who were visiting the Flathead. The performers wore masks with long noses (some of them seemed to resemble black bears), and they carried bows and arrows and bags. They passed around all the tents of the Flathead camp circle; and as the occupants of each became aware of their approach they placed food outside for them. This food the performers approached with exclamations and grunts, and pretended to stalk and shoot, as if it were game. Finally they deposited all in the capacious bags they carried for the purpose. The performers sang, beat drums, danced, and went through many antics, as they passed from one tent to another, and were followed by a crowd of children, who enjoyed the fun.

Ceremonies and dances in connection with war.—The Flathead had numerous ceremonies and dances connected with war, including several kinds of war dances, meeting dances, scalp dances and victory dances. It seems that there was a dance in anticipation of war, another before going to war, one before going on a raid, one before making an attack, and one when expecting to be attacked. Each was a little different in character from the others. The Flathead also had several kinds of horse and foot parades. The scalp dance was much the same as among the Coeur d'Alêne and there was a special ceremony for the meeting and conducting of warriors who returned to camp with scalps. In this or another ceremony the scalps were carried on one or more long poles. Ceremonies similar to those of the Coeur d'Alêne were performed when organizing war parties and parties going on horse-stealing raids. One or more of these ceremonies consisted of singing and the beating of a buffalo robe with sticks in front of each lodge. Before going to war the men who were to undertake the expedition went around the camp circle on horseback all night, singing. Recruits joined them as they went around. The

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women followed, joining in the singing. These organizing or recruiting ceremonies were always followed by a war dance. Generally before a public dance of any kind was to be held the drummers beat the drums for about an hour without singing. This was a signal that a dance was to be held, and for all those who wished to attend to dress and get ready. The Flathead tribes, as already stated, used the coup stick and counted coup; and there was a grading of warriors according to valor. At any gathering the rank of a warrior (according to his exploits) could be told by the decoration of his person and the symbolic or ceremonial objects he carried. Some of these objects were a stick with a crooked end; a spear decorated with eagle feathers, the blade of which was stuck in the ground; a short (?) stick with decorated hoop at the end; decorated clubs, quirts, rattles, pipes, specially decorated sashes, arm bands, headbands, and garters. Strips of otter skin or ermine, tails of animals, and eagle feathers appear to have been the chief attachments for decoration. Chiefs and leaders of dances could also be told by the emblems they wore or carried. Certain men carried no weapons of offense or defense. These were the "fearless men," who could go into the thick of battle and come out uninjured. Some of them carried medicine shields and rattles and sang. The shields were not used for fending off arrows or thrusts. I did not learn whether these men formed any society and whether the ranking of warriors was determined by membership in age societies.

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A long coup stick was used for striking or touching friends in a meeting ceremony. If a party of people were approaching on a friendly visit, even when they were known to be coming and were undoubtedly friendly, a number of mounted warriors went out to meet them. When within sight they advanced toward them in a line abreast, singing. When within a few hundred yards they broke into a gallop and charged on the visitors as if in war. When within striking distance they all reined up their horses short, and one of them tapped the leader of the visitors on the shoulder with the stick. This is said to have meant that he chose him as a friend.

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When a scout came back loping his horse and singing it was known he had seen something. A party of men, old and young, went to meet him. They advanced in a line, singing; and when they met, one touched him on the shoulder with the long coup stick. When touched, he said "*Ye'-e*" if he had seen people, and "*Pu'-u*" if he had seen buffalos.

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The following formed part of a ceremony connected with the recounting of war deeds. The chief who was to recount his war exploits planted his ceremonial stick or spear in the ground and sat down beside it. A number of young men squatted or kneeled near by around a bunch of feathers that lay on the ground. The chorus of

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drummers began a song and beat the drums. The music changed, and the young men stood up. It changed again, and they all gathered in the center. They went forward and back in this way four times, and then around in a circle sunwise. One of the young men left the others and danced around the bunch of feathers, while his companions continued to dance in a circle outside of him. He danced toward the feathers and backed away again. He did this four times, each time approaching nearer. The third time he almost touched the feathers, and the fourth time he picked them up. The music stopped, and the dancers walked to where the chief was in the west, and, after giving the feathers to the chief, sat down. The chief now stood up and placed his hand on the upright spear which was still stuck in the ground. Now he recounted each warlike deed, stated whom he had killed, wounded, and counted coup on, giving all the circumstances. He spoke slowly and plainly. At each pause in the recount the drums beat, "tat, tat, tat—tat!" At some parts of the narration they beat more loudly, as if giving emphasis or applause. When the chief had finished he hung the feathers up on a pole or post. While he was doing this the chorus sang a special song. The chief then took his seat, and the music ceased.

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I did not succeed in getting the exact meanings of the several parts of the ceremony, such as the signification of the feathers, the dancing around the feathers, and the special drumbeats.

At the Fourth of July dances on the reserve I saw Chief Moise recount his experiences in battles with the Blackfoot and Crow. He appeared wearing only moccásins, breechclout, necklace, armlets, and headband. His whole body was painted yellow except the right leg below the calf, which was painted red. He explained that he painted this way because the deeds he narrated took place on the Yellowstone in a great battle with the Blackfoot. He held in one hand a ceremonial weapon like a spear, the blade of which he stuck into the ground. It had a large iron head and was wrapped with otter skin from the blade to the end. The butt end was bent over and formed a loop. This ceremonial weapon was a token of his bravery. Only a man who had advanced in battle to within touching distance of the enemy in the face of superior numbers was entitled to carry this kind of spear at the dances and parades.

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All these dances are now practically pastimes and very little of their old meaning remains.

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In the war dance the chorus consists of six or more men, who sing and drum. They sit on the west side of the dance circle. The dance chief stands to the east, and carries a ceremonial whip. The dancers squat or sit on the outer edges of the dancing place, the spectators around them and the drummers on the outside. When the music starts the chief passes around the circle, following the sun's course,

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535 796 *191 with a hopping step, flourishes his whip, and calls, "*Hwū'i, hwu'a!*" ("Start!" or "Go!"). He taps or whips gently many of the dancers as he passes along. They immediately arise, and, passing into the dancing space, begin to dance. The dance step consists in stamping one foot twice, then taking a step forward and stamping the other foot twice. Experts advance quite rapidly in this way. An older dance step was more like a hop, and old men sometimes dance in this way yet. Many dancers nowadays wear feather bustles, as in the turkey dance, and bend forward considerably in the dance. Most men have their legs more or less bent, but some dance holding themselves very straight. Some go straight forward, while some of the very active young men go more or less zigzag, at the same time twisting their bodies sidewise or half around, and alternately stooping forward close to the ground and then straightening up again. The dancers move in a body to the east, return, and repeat; while the chief dances contrariwise to the other dancers, passing around them, and sometimes out and in through them, encouraging them. The earliest way of dancing was for all the dancers to advance in a circle counterclockwise. Some of the dancers utter war cries—exclamations and grunts. After dancing for a time the music stops for a minute and the dancers stand in their places. This is a signal that there will soon be a pause in the dancing. The music continues again for about five minutes and the dance proceeds. When the music stops again all walk to the edge of the circle and rest. After a while the music starts again; and the chief rises and goes around, urging the men with his whip, as before. They begin to dance. In a short time the music ceases for a minute, and the dancers stand still. Again the music starts very loudly, and the dance continues until the next rest. Thus it lasts for hours with short intervals of rest, and all the dancers perspire profusely. Some dancers carry weapons.

In the old style of war dance all bore weapons and the dancers advanced making motions as if looking for the enemy, looking for tracks, scanning the horizon, attacking an enemy, stabbing with spears and striking with tomahawks. The dancers dress in their best clothes and best bonnets. In the old-style dance the dancers performed in their war dresses or in very little clothing. Some had only moccasins, breechclout, and headdress. Others wore a shirt besides. These who had bare legs wore garter rattles and ankle rattles of deer's hoofs, and armlets and wristlets were worn by those having bare arms. Rattle belts and rattle pendants and hand rattles were also used. Small bells are used nowadays instead of the hoof rattles. The face was painted and the hair done up as for war. Red was the color of the common face paint; but stripes of red, yellow, and black were common. The legs were often painted yellow or white. Nowadays men with short hair often use a narrow headdress of short hair,

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cut an even length, set with a bunch of colored feathers fastened to their own hair, forming a kind of ridge on the top of the head. This headdress is of comparatively late introduction, and is in imitation of the roached heads of the Pawnee and southern Indians. Some also wear wigs made of tresses of hair woven or glued together, which reach a long way down the back. This may be in imitation of a style of hairdress formerly in vogue among some eastern tribes. In the old-style war dance many kinds of headdresses were used. Besides bonnets of eagle-tail feathers, which were common, headdresses of

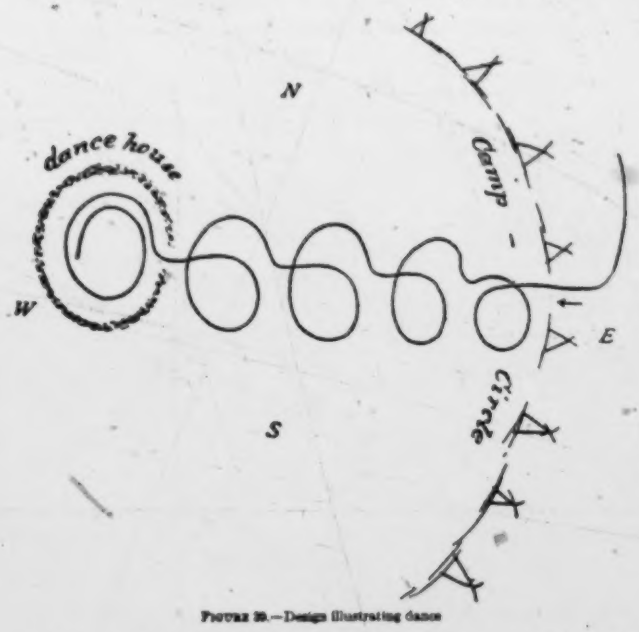

FIGURE 30.—Design illustrating dance

entire skins of birds, head skins of animals, and others set with buffalo, antelope, and deer horns, were in use.

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A parade ceremony, performed by men only before the war dance, was as follows. The dancers congregated outside of the camp circle to the north. Some of them dressed here for the dance. They marched on foot and entered the camp circle from the east, singing as they went along. They headed toward the dance house, which was near the center of the camp circle, marching first west, then describing a circle against the sun south, east, and north, then advancing west some distance, and again describing a circle. In this way they

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796 *191 marched in four circles (fig. 39) before reaching the dance house. They entered it through the east entrance and sat down in a circle, or immediately began to dance contrasunwise.

Another parade ceremony often took place in the morning, before the dances commenced. Men, women, and even children participated in it. The procession formed outside of the camp circle to the north and entered the circle from the east. All the people were mounted, and riders and mounts were decked in the finest possible style. Sometimes the men formed in one line and the women in another. At other times the men rode ahead and the women and children behind. The people described four circles sunwise around the inside of the camp circle, each time going at a faster gait. At last the men broke into a fast lope toward the dance house, the women following and striking their hands against their lips, calling "*Lel-el-el-el!*"[1] At the dance house the men jumped off their horses, and, rushing in, began to dance, while the women and boys took charge of their horses. The men now danced, and the rest of the people scattered.

Many of the dances and ceremonies of the Flathead group were similar to dances and ceremonies of other interior Salish and of the Shoshonean tribes especially.

825 *191 CURRENT BELIEFS, CHARMS, ETC.—There was no belief that lizards chased people, as among the Thompson. According to Revais, this belief belongs to the tribes of the interior, along Columbia River, and south into Oregon and perhaps California. The people, however, were afraid of black spiders. They thought that when a spider bit a person it lodged something like a ball in the body, which passed right through to the opposite side, as a ball or arrow does. The part bitten began to smart and turned red, and the side of the body opposite where the ball lodged also turned red. The charge was very poisonous, and a person often died within an hour after being bitten. Horses were also killed by spiders.

789 *191 Charms, consisting of certain plants and roots, were used for obtaining good luck, protection, success in love, and wealth. The same or other plants in different combinations were used for bringing bad luck, sickness, and death to an enemy. Besides charms of this kind,

278 *191 poisons were used. If a woman wanted to poison a man she went to a graveyard and obtained a small piece of a rotten corpse, with which she anointed berries or other food that the man would eat. Another method was to hang a large black toad by the legs to a branch,

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[1] Said to be a call used to encourage the men. When the men were fighting and fell back, the women called in this way, and the men, becoming ashamed, returned to persevere in the fight. Among the Thompson this cry is used by the women, and sometimes also by the men, to a person who falls down in the war dance, who retreats before a foe, or who is being beaten. It shows disapproval and conveys a sense of degradation, somewhat like the exclamation "Shame!" Some Thompson claim that it is the same call as that used to dogs when calling them to eat, and therefore the same as denouncing a person as a dog.

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to put a small cross stick in its mouth to keep it open, and sometimes also a skewer through its body. A cup was placed underneath to catch the poison which ran from its mouth, the toad being left hanging until dead. Some women, instead of this, put the toad on a flat rock, placed another flat stone on top, and crushed it to death. The juices of the body were then collected and put on food to be eaten by the person to be poisoned. When a person ate toad poison his stomach was spoiled, he lost his appetite, and died as if in consumption. Women sometimes poisoned men through jealousy.

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[For data on Blackfoot wars with the Southeast Salish, Flathead, and others, see 7: Teit, NR19 Southeast Salish, category 116, especially pp. 316-321, and 361-365.]

[For data on the history and cultural institutions of the Kutenai, see 7: Teit, NR19 Southeast Salish, category 116, passim.]

[For data on history and cultural institutions of the Flathead, see 7: Teit, NR19 Southeast Salish, category 116, passim.]

[For data on the Nez Percé war of 1877, see 7: Teit, NR19 Southeast Salish, category 116, pp. 372-373.]

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[For information on the introduction of the horse to the Plateau area in general, see 7: Teit, category 116, pp. 350-351.]